



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

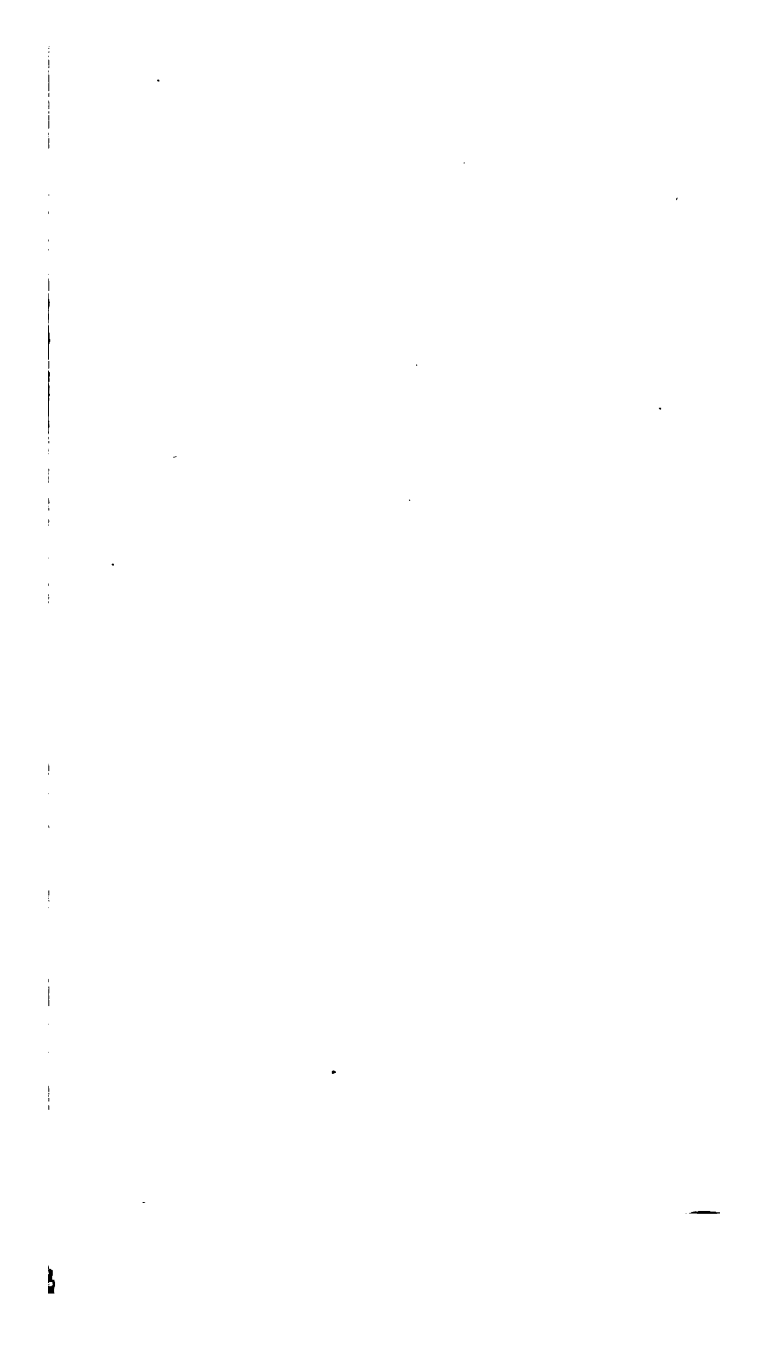
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

PROPERTY OF
*University of
Michigan
Libraries*

1817

ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS







A

VINDICATION

OF THE MOST REVEREND

THOMAS CRANMER,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND THEREWITH OF THE

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND,

AGAINST SOME OF THE

ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RECENTLY MADE

BY THE Rev. Dr. LINGARD, THE Rev. Dr. MILNER,

AND CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH NOTICES OF DR. LINGARD'S AND MR. BUTLER'S REMARKS
ON THE FIRST EDITION.

BY THE

REV. H. J. TODD, M.A. F.S.A. AND R.S.L.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND RECTOR OF
SETTRINGTON, YORKSHIRE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; AND
FOR A. BARCLAY, YORK.

1826.

22A
517.8
.L8
V63

Printed by R. GILBERT, St. John's Square, London.

Exchange
Library
Univ. of Western
Ontario
6-25-30

DA
317.8
.C8
T63

PREFACE

TO THE
PRESENT EDITION.

THE vindication of the character and conduct of Archbishop Cranmer, which not long since I prefixed to his admirable treatise upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, has been so well received by the publick, as to render it advisable to reprint it in a form suited to a more extensive circulation. It has indeed been said by Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler, to whose animadversions upon the Archbishop I have replied in this Vindication, (with becoming circumspection, I trust,) "that the attempt of Mr. Todd to place in

* Mr. Butler's Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxx.

a more favourable light the labours of this celebrated prelate has not been successful."

The remark of Dr. Lingard is in ^b general terms, without impugning a single point which I have advanced, either as to accuracy or to applicability. It is therefore of no weight. Indeed, to the reimpression of this Vindication, I have been led by the judgement which has been passed upon it by men, not inferior in learning to Dr. Lingard, or (I might safely contend) to any scholar professing the Romish faith in the present age; men, who have cheered me for detecting the revival of forgotten calumnies, and for guarding others against the attempt, now made, to change the complexion of English history through the reign of Henry the Eighth to the close of Elizabeth's, in order to set at nought the Reformation, by an ostentatious appeal to documents of little or no value, and by a suppression of

^b Preface to the last volume of his History of England, 4to and vol. 9th. 8vo.

indisputable authorities not in unison with the object of the historian. To the twelve especial statements concerning Cranmer, in which I am opposed to Dr. Lingard, I have now only added what may accompany his partiality for bishop Gardiner, namely, that in ° *the same fear* with that of the 'crafty prelate, the historian has coupled the learned and amiable bishop Tunstal, when, in truth, Tunstal's own ^d letter has descended to us, proclaiming the very reverse.

The observations of Mr. Butler are specifick. He says, *first*, that "° without a minute and full investigation of every topick which my Vindication presents for discussion, it would be impossible to decide with justice between us. In such an investigation (he adds) I *may* hereafter engage." For such an investigation I shall look without fear.

^c See the following Vindication, pp. 63, 64.

^d Printed in the Appendix to this volume, p. 146.

^e Vindication of The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxxv.

The courtesy of the champion against my cause will admit, that, as often as such contest may be renewed, the Protestant clergyman is not to be blamed, is not to be derided, who in his humble station presents himself armed with truth in defence of the Reformed Church of England; in defence especially, too, of the *unfortunate and wickedly treated prelate*, as Mr. Butler ^frecites the phrase in his mention of a letter received from the late Dr. Parr, in which the doctor censured, and very justly, in the severest terms, the language of Mr. Butler upon what he had considered the blamable parts of the Archbishop's character. The *second* remark of Mr. Butler on my Vindication is this: "^g Mr. Todd asserts, that I *charitably* say, that Cranmer and his association wished Mary and her associates to be exposed to their projected persecution. I am surprised

^f Vindication of The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxvi.

^g Ibid. p. lxvii.

at this remark." I need only refer the Protestant reader to the ^h passage in question; and he, I think, will not be *surprised*. But it will be right to produce the sentence of Mr. Butler, which occasioned my remark, "i In extenuation of Mary's persecutions, it may be said, that she did no more than execute, against Cranmer and his associates, the provisions to which he had *wished* her and her associates to be exposed." What Mr. Butler says that the Archbishop and his associates thus *wished*, Dr. Lingard says they *intended*. I request the reader, therefore, particularly to regard what is offered upon this point in the statement in the ^k following pages. The *third* reflection of Mr. Butler on my Vindication is, ^l that I have accused him of unfairly citing bishop Jeremy

^h See p. 115, et seq.

ⁱ The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 205.

^k See p. 115, et seq.

^l Vindication of The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxvii, et seq.

Taylor on the subject of transubstantiation and the mass; and that to this purpose I have produced a passage from the same author's *Dissuasive from Popery*. I have certainly so done; and, I trust, successfully. For what says Mr. Butler himself? “^m After repeated serious perusal of the passage cited by Mr. Todd from bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive*, I am convinced that it does not substantially contradict the passage cited from his *Liberty of Prophesying*. I admit that it appears,—that it may be thought,—that it may be construed to contradict it,—that it sounds like,—that it approaches very near to a contradiction; but I aver, that *it is not* a contradiction.” I am content to leave this hesitating and rather whimsical declaration, which serves only to corroborate what I have asserted, without further comment; and to direct the reader to the plain, the perspi-

^m Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxix.

cuous; the unsophisticated ⁿ language of the bishop himself. But I must not omit what Mr. Butler subjoins: “^o If I had been aware of the passage cited from the Dissuasive, *which I assure Mr. Todd I was not*, I should not have inserted the passage from the Prophecyings; for although I think the former is not affected by the latter, I think the latter renders the sense of the former debatable.” Upon this passage too no long remark is necessary; for the reader will find in my ^p accusation as to Mr. Butler’s *unfairly citing* bishop Taylor, and in the proofs with which I support it, that the Dissuasive, written as it was at the desire of the prelates of Ireland, delivers the full, complete, and unaltered opinion of his lordship upon popery, which no reference to the Prophecyings, written nearly twenty years before, can be fairly

ⁿ Cited to the present point in the Appendix to this volume.

^o Vindication of The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxi.

^p See the following Vindication, p. 23—26.

brought to weaken or impugn. The *fourth* and last observation of Mr. Butler is, that “^q Mr. Todd by a very harmless, and I am sure, a very honourable mistake, charges me with citing bishop *Gunning* ‘for the same doctrine, concealing what should be added respecting him, that after the bill was passed, he took the oath.’ Mr. Todd refers to the Book of the Catholic Church, p. 327. I have more than once perused this page, some pages immediately preceding, and some immediately following it; and the article, Transubstantiation, in both editions of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church; and can find in them no citation from bishop Gunning, or even any mention of that prelate’s name.” Here then must be some mistake of Mr. Butler himself; for if the reader will turn to the page I have named in Mr. Butler’s book, (p. 327,) he will find the following words. “Several of the most eminent

^q Vindication of The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. lxx.

Protestant divines have acquitted this doctrine of the Catholics (the Invocation of Saints) from the charge of idolatry. Dr. Luther acquitted them of it: Archbishop Sheldon, bishops Blandford, *Gunning*, Montague, and many other of the brightest lights of the Established Church, have acquitted them of it."—And what I have said, in the way of harmless and honourable mistake, as it is alleged, after my vindication of bishop Taylor, is this. "Is the whole truth proclaimed, when Mr. Butler also cites another prelate of the English Church in his behalf, because that prelate said in the House of Lords, when the Declaration against Transubstantiation was enacted by the law of the land, 'that the Church of Rome was not idolatrous?' This is all that Mr. Butler tells of Dr. *Gunning*, bishop of Ely." Here, as I thought, my meaning was obvious enough; namely, that Mr. Butler had cited *Gunning*

^r See the following Vindication, p. 26.

in aid of the general proposition, though Mr. Butler may plead that he produces him only as to the invocation of saints, *that the Church of Rome was not idolatrous*. I think too still, that I am sufficiently correct in describing this witness of Mr. Butler, whom now, however, we find disowning him altogether, and disclaiming the very mention of his name.

Upon the late Dr. Milner's * reference to the Lambeth Records, I have here no other remark to offer, than that what I have detected in him cannot be contradicted. And of Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler I now take my leave (for the present) with perfect benevolence, though with absolute dissent; repeating only the powerful observation of one who, in the controversy of former years, thus distinguishes the instrumentality of Cranmer in separating England from the Church of

* See the following Preface to the first edition of this Vin-
dication, p. xvi.

Rome. “‘The Reformation builds on a rock, removing the hay and stubble, the perishing materials heaped on it by popes, to secure our Church a firmer establishment on Christ the foundation. Cranmer we look upon but as an instrument raised by God to clear away the rubbish; and whatever his personal frailties or infirmities may have been, for Christ has appointed men, not angels, for the work of his ministry here, the doctrines of the Gospel by him restored are not the less pure, nor the corruptions he pointed out less abominable; and the better use we make of that blessing which he, by his labour among us, procured for us, *we shall esteem him the more highly in love for his work's sake*, whatever his faults were in other respects.”

Settrington, May 1, 1826.

† Ridley's Review of Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole, p. 287.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THIS VINDICATION.



WHERE doctrine is true, it will not be overthrown by railing accusation against the teachers of it, nor even by an exposure of their infirmities or sins. The Reformation in England is founded upon doctrines which are true. Of these Archbishop Cranmer considered his doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in contradistinction to what is maintained upon this subject by the Church of Rome, as the chief; and he emphatically pronounces it "the true doctrine." Yet, as endeavours have been made to weaken this doctrine, and calumnies against the teacher of it have been rendered subservient to these endeavours; any minister of the Reformed Church of England, however humble may be

his power, is truly exercising his duty, while, in calling the attention of the publick to the great doctrine which chiefly distinguishes the Church of England from the Church of Rome, he rescues also from reproach, where it is not deserved, the character of the great prelate who taught it. Such is the design of the following pages : in which the assertions of eminent scholars, who are opposed to the Reformation and its children, are sometimes challenged merely by the exercise, which seeks no lofty name, of referring to authorities. Ingenuity in selection, perspicuity of statement, and elegance of style, may lead us indeed delightfully along through a narrative, or a volume of history ; but elegance of style, perspicuity of statement, and ingenuity in selection, without accuracy, change at once the captivating light of any point into a mournful gloom.

I have presumed, in citing the *Strictures upon Southey's Book of the Church* by J. Merlin, to name Dr. Milner as the author.

Mr. Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, having expressly stated, and others of the Romish communion having asserted, (while the internal evidence in the Strictures also leads to the same conclusion,) this learned Romanist as such. Yet I had rather that the information was unauthorized; as it is pitiable to find, in two editions of the Strictures, that the dishonesty of Bonner, in fabricating a speech for Cranmer, (the "grievous lie," as Strype indignantly calls it, Eccl. Mem. iii. 238,) and publishing it as if pronounced by the Archbishop, is stated as existing in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials "*from the Lambeth Records*;" when not a word is extant, or known to have been extant, in any record at Lambeth, relating to this matter; and, as I have ^asaid, no reference is made to such records by Strype. Let it never more be supposed, by the reference of Dr. Milner,

^a See the following Vindication, p. 125.

that the Lambeth Records sustain the wicked fabrication of Bonner.

With his usual kindness and condescension, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has allowed me, upon the present occasion, to examine the Records in Lambeth Library. And for admission to the State-Paper Office, and the examination of some documents there preserved respecting Cranmer, I have been greatly indebted to the very liberal permission of the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Peel; and to the obliging assistance of Robert Lemon, Esq. deputy-keeper of the Records in that Office. Nor may I omit this opportunity of saying, that to the care and zeal of Mr. Lemon the country is indebted for a most exact arrangement of innumerable historical papers in the Office, for the discovery of several hitherto unknown, and for his interesting remarks upon many of them. I have also gratefully profited by the inspection of the Registers of the Archbishops, and of the Dean and

Chapter of York; and in the Library of the latter I have discovered an unknown Manuscript of the celebrated Sir John Harrington, from which I have gathered some important circumstances respecting the persecution of the Protestants in the reign of Mary. In this Manuscript there are also several curious illustrations of the reign of Elizabeth; some of which, as well as other original materials, I hope to copy, if health and opportunity favour me, into a vindication of the history of that time against some recent misrepresentations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Account of Archbishop Cranmer's book - 1, et seq.		The Archbishop's book attacked by Bp. Gardi- ner and Dr. Smith	12
The connection of this book with our Church and State - - -	2	The Archbishop's fine de- fence of his book and of himself - - -	13
Protestant Constitution described - - -	ib.	The Archbishop not a Lu- theran or a Zuinglian	13, 14
The Reformation worth maintaining - - -	3	Process against the Arch- bishop, first printed from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library -	15
The Archbishop's confer- ence with Ridley upon the subject of his book	4	The Archbishop's letter to King Edward VI. -	17
Character of Fox's Acts and Monuments -	4, 5	Manuscript remains of the Archbishop in the State- Paper Office - -	18
Dr. Milner's censure of Fox - - -	5	The Fathers and School- men appealed to by the Archbishop - -	19
Bertram's book upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper - - -	ib.	The study of them recom- mended, together with other good writers	20, 21
The Archbishop's zeal for publishing books in the national language, in order to promote the Reformation - -	8	The Fathers, and Bibles, the strongest arguments against Popery - -	21
Original letter of the Arch- bishop on the preceding subject - - -	10	The sense of the Church	
Metrical psalmody -	11		

	PAGE		PAGE
of England as to the Real Presence - -	22	Dr. Lingard's and Mr. Butler's notices of Anne Boleyn - - -	34
The Archbishop's, and Ridley's, and Hooper's assertions upon this subject - - -	23	Mr. Southey's notice of her story as blackened by the Romanists -	ib.
Their martyrdom in de- fence of those assertions	ib.	Rastal's pretended book, upon which the calum- ny against Anne Bo- leyn is founded, con- sidered - - -	35
Mr. Butler unfairly cites Bp. Jeremy Taylor on the subject of Transub- stantiation and the Mass - - -	23, 24	Character of Saunders -	37
Bp. Jeremy Taylor pro- nounces both Transub- stantiation and the Mass as idolatrous	24, 25	Dr. Lingard's account of the elevation of the Archbishop to the see of Canterbury consi- dered - - -	38, et seq.
Mr. Butler cites Bp. Gun- ning, but conceals what should have been added respecting him - -	26	Dr. Lingard's remarks upon the Archbishop's protestation against the pope, together with Mr. Butler's answered 41, et seq.	
Mr. Butler's remarks on the Article of our Church respecting Transubstantiation	27, 28	The authority of the Archbishop's register as to this point -	43, 44
Answered - - -	28, 29	Misrepresentation of San- ders and Phillips on the subject - - -	44
The Archbishop's senti- ments upon universal redemption and regene- ration in baptism	30, 31	The Archbishop's own as- sertion as to this pro- test - - -	46
The character of the Arch- bishop -	31, 61, et seq.	Cardinal Pole's assertions not always to be relied upon - - -	48, 49
The slander upon the me- mory of Anne Boleyn considered - - -	33, et seq.	Dr. Lingard's account of the Archbishop's con- duct, as to the divorce of queen Catharine, considered - - -	49, et seq.
Sanders's, and Bayly's, and Phillips's notices of it - - -	33, 34	Original letter of the	
Mr. Baddeley's notice of the same, with his rail- ing against Cranmer	33		

CONTENTS.

xxi

	PAGE
Archbishop on the subject - - -	50
Dr. Lingard and Dr. Milner ought to have seen this letter - -	50, 52
Dr. Lingard's account of king Henry's union with Anne Boleyn -	54
Bishop Gardiner's opinion upon it the same as the Archbishop's	55, et seq.
Dr. Lingard's description of the marriage of the King and Anne Boleyn in a garret, considered	60
Dr. Milner's observation on the marriage, corrected - - -	61
The Archbishop's notice of falsehoods, reported of him, omitted by Dr. Lingard in his citation of his Grace's letter -	ib.
Dr. Lingard's statement as to the king's supremacy - - -	62, et seq.
Dr. Lingard's notice of the Archbishop upon this occasion, but his concealment of bishop Gardiner's having written a violent book against the pope's supremacy - - -	63
Dr. Lingard's reflection upon the learning or fanaticism of the Archbishop refuted -	68, 69
The title of Antichrist applied to the pope -	70
Curious application of it	

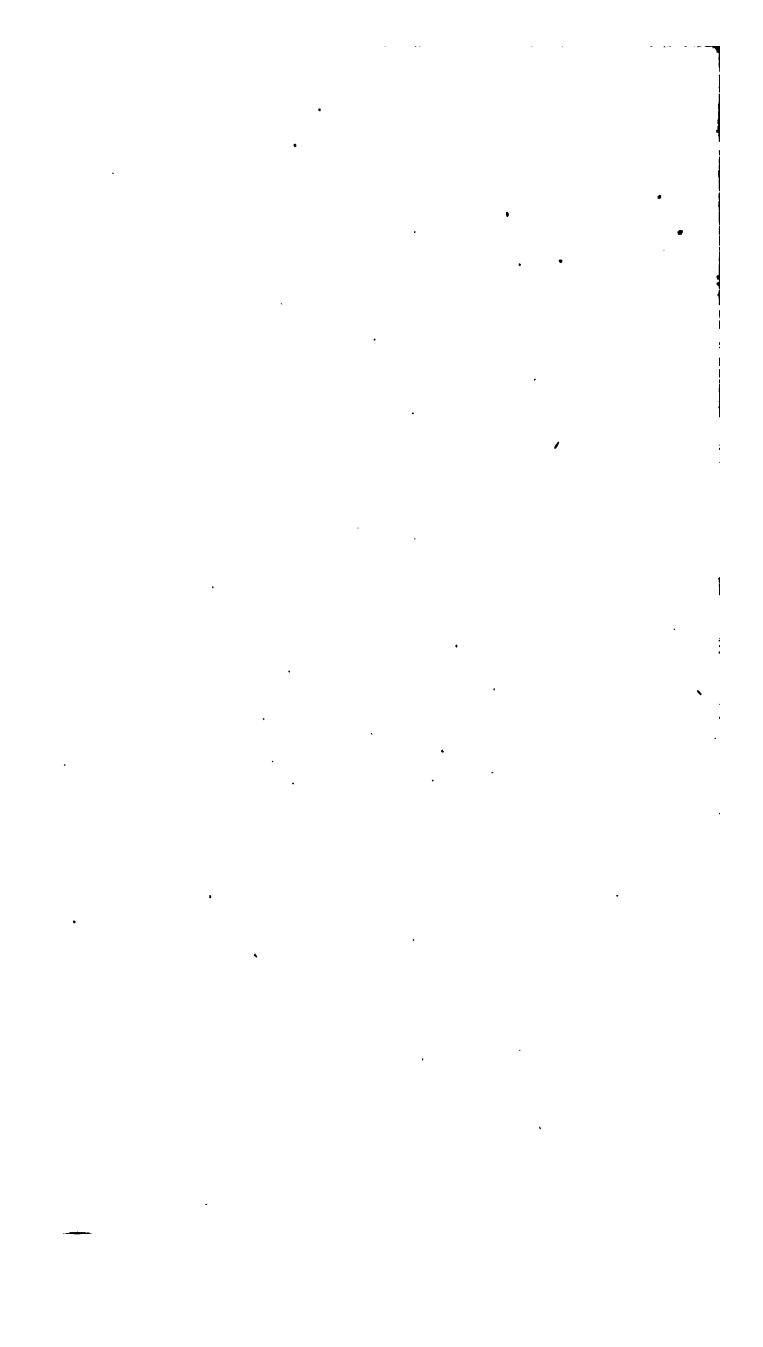
	PAGE
in this view by the Romanists themselves	70
Dr. Lingard's charge against the Archbishop, as to the trial and punishment of Lambert, answered, -	71, et seq.
Dr. Milner and Mr. Butler agree with Dr. Lingard, and also as to the case of Anne Askew	72, et seq.
The Archbishop's aversion to cruelty - -	73
Dr. Lingard refers to recantations of Anne Askew, which were denied by herself -	73, 74
Bishop Gardiner the foremost in the proceedings both against Askew and Lambert - -	75
Dr. Milner's remark upon the Archbishop as a Lutheran, or Zuinglian, answered - - -	80
Original letter of the Archbishop in 1540, showing his aversion to the Church of Rome -	82
The Archbishop's opposition to the Act of the Six Articles	86, et seq.
Dr. Lingard's citation of a letter upon this subject, considered -	87, 88
Mr. Butler's expostulation with Mr. Southey upon this subject considered - - -	90
Dr. Lingard's mis-state-	

PAGE	PAGE
ment as to the Archbishop in the discussion of this point - - 91	Sir John Harrington's manuscript narrative of Bp. Gardiner's cruelty 105
The Archbishop's spirit in the cause of religion - ib.	His description of Bp. Gardiner and Bp. Bonner - - - 106
Dr. Lingard's charge against the Archbishop in the case of Joan Bocher, answered 93, 94	Cardinal Pole's character 108
Dr. Lingard's notice of the case of Van Parris 95, 96	Dr. Lingard's suggestions that Bonner and Gardiner were not quite so guilty as they have been represented - 110
Phillips's mis-statement of the cases both of Van Parris, and of Bocher - - - 96.	Dr. Lingard's mistaken relation of the Protestants who were burned in the reign of Mary 111
Dr. Milner alleges the cruelty of the Archbishop to both by a reference to Burnet - 97	Bp. Bonner's character ib.
The passage, referred to in Burnet, explained ib.	Dr. Lingard's relation of the code of ecclesiastical laws, compiled by the Archbishop and his associates - - 113
Dr. Lingard's account of the Archbishop's behaviour, upon the accession of Mary to the throne, considered - 99	The Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum explained - - - ib.
Dr. Thornden, one of the dissembling monks, who were enemies to the Archbishop 102	Dr. Lingard's insinuation as to the Archbishop's and his associate's intention in these laws 115
Conspiracy of the dissembling monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, against the Archbishop ib.	Mr. Butler's belief of the wish of the Archbishop and his associates. - ib.
Character of several members of the Archbishop's cathedral - - - 103	The Archbishop and his associates defended - ib.
Dr. Lingard's partiality to the bishops Gardiner and Bonner - - 104	The cruel persecution by Mary and her agents 116
	Dr. Lingard's exhibition of the Archbishop in his last days - - - 117
	Dr. Lingard mistakenly adds a seventh recanta-

CONTENTS.

xxiii

PAGE	PAGE
tion to those which the Archbishop is said to have made - - 117	Records, in confirma- tion of these recanta- tions, exposed - - 125
Strype's account of the six recantations - - 118	The real speech of the Archbishop at his mar- tyrdom, instead of that prepared for him - 128
Suspicious circumstances observable in them - 121	Account of the Archbi- shop's last moments 129
The order, by the Privy Council, for the Arch- bishop's recantation in the first instance to be burnt - - - 122	Observations on the Re- formation in England, 130
The preparation of part of these recantations for the Archbishop obvious 123	Milton's character of it 131
The original copy of them dishonestly published by Bp. Bonner - - 124	Blackstone referred to in behalf of it - - ib.
And dishonourably privi- leged by queen Mary ib.	Concluding remark upon it in an Essay, honour- ed with the approbation of the University of Oxford - - - 132
Dr. Lingard's observation upon the recantations considered - - 125	Preface to Abp. Cranmer's treatise - - - 135
Dr. Milner's strange refe- rence to the Lambeth	Extract from bishop Tay- lor's Dissuasive from Popery - - - 142
	Letter of bishop Tunstall 146



VINDICATION
OF
ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

I. An account of the Archbishop's work upon the Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. II. The Vindication of the Archbishop's Character.

I. IN the year 1550, Archbishop Cranmer published his ^a great work upon the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; a

^a The title of it is, "A Defence of the True and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same, grounded and stablished upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. Made by the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan. 1550." The fine Preface to it is given in the Appendix to this Vindication of its author. The whole of the work was by me republished in last year, to which the present Vindication was prefixed.

work abounding with irresistible argumentation, as well as impressive eloquence ; with sincere piety, and with profound learning. And the indissoluble connection of it with our Church and State every Protestant will admit, when the learned amongst them call to mind, and the unlearned are informed, that to the establishment of the Reformation in England this work in the highest degree contributed, and that it refutes the doctrine which chiefly distinguishes the Church of Rome from the Church of England. It forms much of the basis of that Protestant Constitution “^b under which we have enjoyed more liberty, we have acquired more glory, we possess more character and power, than hitherto has fallen to the lot of any other country on the globe ;” and so proclaims, with a voice never to be silenced, we trust, that “^c the Reformation was worth esta-

^b Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Robert Peel in the House of Commons, May 9, 1817, on the Right Hon. Henry Grattan's motion, That the House should resolve itself into a Committee, to take into consideration the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom. Third edition, p. 40.

^c Sermons and Charges by Bishop Barrington, p. 437. “ If

blishing," and therefore "it is worth maintaining." A further account of it is necessary to the subsequent vindication of Cranmer's character.

This treatise, then, while it principally discusses the subject of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, delivers some excellent observations upon certain doctrines adopted by our Church, (besides that which concerns the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,) agreeing also with Cranmer's decision upon such points in the publick formularies of our faith. They shall be noticed in the following pages. But I ought, in illustration of the work which I have been commending, first to state the history of it, and then shew how the difference in question between the churches of Rome and England is marked, and how the great reformer determined upon other points.

"^d During the time of king Henry the eighth, until the entering of king Edward, it seemeth that Cranmer was scarcely yet

the Reformation was worth establishing, it is worth maintaining."

^d Fox's Acts and Monuments.

thoroughly persuaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at least was not yet fully ripened in the same ; wherein shortly after being more groundedly confirmed by conference with bishop Ridley, in process of time did so profit in riper knowledge, that at last he took upon him *the defence of that whole doctrine*, that is, to refute and throw down, first, the corporal presence ; secondly, the fantastical transubstantiation ; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration ; fourthly, the false error of the Papists, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ ; and, lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Whereupon in conclusion *he wrote five books for the publick instruction of the Church of England: WHICH INSTRUCTION YET TO THIS DAY STANDETH, AND IS RECEIVED, IN THIS CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*"

Such is the ^cfaithful statement of Fox,

^c I have great pleasure in citing the following passage from the Preface to Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography ; assuring the reader also, that in numerous researches which it has been often my duty to make among ancient registers, and other records, the accuracy of Fox in such as he has applied to his purpose is indisputable. " I am well aware," Dr. Wordsworth says, " that by the extent to which I have

the martyrologist, in respect to the archbishop's work. Cranmer himself has also informed us, in his Profession of Faith in 1555, that "his book was made seven years ago;" and it was ^s about the year 1546, when Ridley, by reading the work of ^h Bertram

availed myself of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, I fall within the sphere of such censures as that of Dr. John Milner, in which he speaks of 'the frequent publications of John Fox's lying Book of Martyrs, with prints of men, women, and children, expiring in flames; the nonsense, inconsistency, and falsehoods of which,' he says, 'he had in part exposed in his Letters to a Prebendary.' I am not ignorant of what has been said also by Dr. Milner's predecessors in the same argument, by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. *But these writings have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentick of all historians.* We know too much of the strength of Fox's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. Milner's censures, than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken."

^f Fox's Acts and Mon.

^s Ridley communicated his thoughts upon Bertram's book to Cranmer about the year 1546. Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. 2. ch. 25.

^h Bertram, who is also called Ratramnus, asserts our doctrine as expressly as we (Protestants,) ourselves can do; delivering it in the same words, and proving it by many of the same arguments and authorities which we bring. See bishop

concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, had been led to examine closely the prevailing opinion of the corporal presence; when, having found it much opposed in the ninth century, especially by this learned writer, he communicated the result of his inquiry to Cranmer. Henceforward, indeed, they both pursued the subject with more than ordinary care; and accordingly the Archbishop brought together their observations into his *Defence of the TRUE Doctrine*, as he justly entitled his book. But a supposition that Ridley was the author of this book, or rather a wish to deprive Cranmer of the merit due to his own learning and research, appears to have been at the time expressed. “¹How,” said Secretary Bourn, in his examination of Ridley in the Tower, “how can you then make

Burnet on the 28th Article. He was a monk of the Abbey of Corbey, in the ninth century. Mabillon says, that he had seen a manuscript of his work on the Eucharist eight hundred years old. Cave gives him the highest character as a man and a scholar, and adds, “*excepta lite Eucharistica, ab ipsis scriptoribus pontificiis summis elogiis ornatus.*” In the London edition of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, 1686, all the objections of the Romanists against this writer are learnedly and acutely refuted.

¹ Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, (from Fox,) p. 440.

but a figure or a sign of the Sacrament, *as that book doth which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name? I wiss you can tell who made it: Did not you make it?*" "And here," Ridley himself relates, "here was much murmuring of the rest, *as though they would have given me the glory of writing that book:—*Master Secretary, quoth I, that book was made of a great learned man, and one who is able to do the like again: as for me, I assure you, be not deceived, I was never able to do or write any such like thing: he passeth me no less than the learned master his young scholar:—But, Sir, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand that any man doth so lightly esteem the Sacrament, as to make of it a figure only: but that *but* maketh it a bare figure without any more profit; *which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly.*"

It is highly probable, that soon after the consultation of Cranmer and Ridley upon this subject, the Archbishop caused an English translation of Bertram's book to be published; a circumstance, which has been over-

looked by the historians of the English Reformation. For in 1548^k, and in 1549, two editions of this plain, brief, and very useful discourse, made their appearance, royally privileged, with the following title: "The boke of Barthram, priest, intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christe, wrytten to great Charles the emperoure, and set forth seven hundred years ago." It is printed in a small form, but in types usually given to books of a larger size; as if it had been intended to gratify the eye of age, as well as youth. And this accords with the accustomed zeal of Cranmer to exhibit the most valuable information in the national language: Witness his successful motion, almost immediately after his consecration, that the Scriptures should be translated into English, and his subsequent joy that the translation might be used by all: Witness his exertions also to bring into use prayer in the vernacular tongue, and thus to render publick devotion intelligible to all. Of this pious

^k By T. Raynalde in 1548, and by A. Kitson in 1549. Ames, *Hist. of Printing*, p. 220. The copy, however, which is now before me, is printed by Raynalde in 1549.

diligence, though many other instances might be given, all contributing to promote the Reformation, I will add only one which Burnet and Strype had not seen, but which Collier has with a slight alteration or two printed, and which presents to us the great prelate, in the pursuit of his noble object, employing the aids of metre and of musick. It is contained in an original letter, which appears to have been written subsequently to the “¹ Royal Mandate for publishing and using the prayers in the English tongue;” the King having observed, in this direction to the Archbishop, that “the people heretofore understood no part of such prayers or suffrages as were used to be sung and said.” The whole of this Mandate, as Strype has well observed, runs in such a pious strain, as though none but Cranmer had been the suggester of it. It is printed entire in Burnet’s History of the Reformation, and great part of it is copied by Strype in his Memorials of the Archbishop; and it is dated in June, 1544. In the succeeding August the Arch-

¹ Burnet’s Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. Records, p. 264.

bishop was also called upon by the Privy Council to appoint processions in the English tongue. The following is the Archbishop's letter, copied from the original now remaining in his Majesty's State-Paper Office.

“ It may please your Maiestie to be aduertised, that according to your Highnes' commandement, sent vnto me by your grace's secretary Mr. Paggett, I haue translated into the English tongue so well as I coulde, in so short tyme, certeyne processions to be vsed vpon festiuall daies, yf, after due correction and amendement of the same, your highnes shall thinke it so conuenient: In whiche translation, forasmoche as many of the processions in the Lattyn were but barren, (as me semed,) and litle frutefull; I was constrayned to vse more than the libertie of a translator: ffor in some processions I haue alterid diuers wourdes, in some I haue added parte, in some taken parte awaie. Some I haue lefte oute hole, either for bycause the matter appearid to me to be little to purpose, or bycause the daies be not with vs festiuall daies. And some procession I haue added hole, bycause I thought I hadd better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latten: the iudgemente wherof I referre holie vnto your Maiestie. And after your highnes hath corrected

yt, yf your grace cōmande some devoute and solempne note to be made therevnto, (as is to the procession whiche your Maiestie hath alreadie set furth in Englishe,) I truste it woll moche excitate and stirre the hearts of all men vnto deuotion and godlynes. But in myn opinion the song^m that shalbe made therevnto sholde not be full of notes, but as nere as may be for euery sillable a note, so that it may be songe distinctly and deuoutly, as be in the matens and euen song, *Venite*, the hymnes *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the psalmes and versicles, and the masse *Gloria in excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Crede, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concernyng the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note (as I thinke) is sobre and distinct enoughe. Wherfore I haue trauailed to make the verses in Englishe, and have put the Latten note vnto the same. Neuertheles, thei that be connyng in syngyng can make a moche more solempne note thereto. I made them only for a profe to see how Englishe wolde do in songe.

^m This passage leads us to believe, that metrical psalmody might at this time have been thought of by Cranmer, especially by what follows in the letter as to his English verses; and, it may be added, by the imitations of the Archbishop's endeavour, which soon followed in the stanzas of Sternhold, Hunnis, and others. So that the psalmody in question may seem to be of higher authority, than hitherto has been conceded to it.

But bycause myn Englishe verses lacke the grace and facilitie which I wolde wishe they hadd, your Maiestie may cause some other to make theym againe, that can do the same in more pleasante Englishe and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose, [it] will serue well enough. Thus Almighty God preserue your Maiestie in longe and prosperous helth and felicitie. ffrom Bekisborne the vijth of October.

“ Your grace’s most bounden,

“ chaplayne and bedisman,

“ T. CANTUARIEN.”

The Discourse of the Archbishop, which we have described, was, almost immediately after the publication of it, attacked by bishop Gardiner, then a prisoner in the Tower, in “ An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholick Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, *with confutation of a book* [the Archbishop’s] *written against the same*, 1551;” and printed, according to Strype, in France. Another opponent also, Dr. Smith, then at Louvain, published an answer to Cranmer. Both adversaries brought against the Archbishop the accusation of inconsistency. Finding in his De-

fence of the true Doctrine, that Consubstantiation, as well as Transubstantiation, was opposed, they reminded the author that formerly he had been a Papist, then a Lutheran, and lastly a Zuinglian, in his sacramental profession. The Archbishop was instant in his reply ⁿ to both ; confuting as

ⁿ It may be proper to extract, from the reply at large, the following words. "After it had pleased God," the Archbishop says, "to shew unto me by his word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, *by little and little I put away my former ignorance.* And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened my eyes to receive it ; and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for *my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance.*" Answer to Gardiner, p. 402. He had just before ingenuously also said, after denying an allegation made by Smith, that he was "in the error of the real presence, and in divers other errors, &c. for lack of good instruction from his youth ; the outrageous floods of papistical errors at that time overflowing the world ; for the which, and other offences of his youth, he daily prayed to God for mercy and pardon." And in the first part of his book he observes, in the same honourable spirit, "It is lawful and commendable for a man *to learn from time to time, and to go from his ignorance that he may receive and embrace the truth.* As for me, I am not, I grant, of that nature that the Papists for most part be, who study to devise all shameful shifts, rather than they will forsake any error, wherewith they were infected in their youth." Answ. &c. p. 62. As to the accu-

well "the crafty and sophistical cavillation" of Gardiner, as such places in the puny book of Smith as "seemed any thing worthy the answering." This answer was eagerly expected, and well received; was printed in 1551; and again ° in 1552, according to Ames, which Strype, however, has not noticed. And as a proof not only of the welcome which it had experienced, but of the high character which it maintained, it was republished in 1580. Archbishop Parker ^p indeed has said of it, that no controversy against the Papists was ever handled more accurately; and succeeding writers of distinction have bestowed their eulogy upon the language as well as the spirit of it, upon its acuteness as well as its zeal. Of his own confidence in the great doctrine, which he so learnedly and copiously maintained, he gave this solemn testimony in his last most impressive words: "As ^q for the Sacrament," said

sation of his being a Lutheran, or a Zuinglian, see the observation in a subsequent page on Dr. Lingard's similar opinion.

° Ames, Hist. of Printing, p. 227.

^p Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. 2. ch. 25.

^q Fox's Acts and Mon.

the venerable martyr as he approached the stake, "As for the Sacrament, I believe *as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester*; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to shew her face." It is in this book that the *Defence of the true doctrine* is incorporated^r; the whole of which, together with the whole of Gardiner's attack upon it, is there reprinted, with additional observations. And it is this Defence, against which the indignation of Roman Catholicks was in vain exercised. In vain, as to silencing it, was it made an article^s in the charges brought against the mighty prelate. In vain, as to weakening its effect, was it proposed to him by his cunning enemies as a theme for recan-

^r Now and then an amended reading may be observed in this reprint of the Defence, which strengthens the original expression.

^s See the Process against him, first printed from the manuscript in the Library at Lambeth Palace at the close of the Oxford edition of Strype's Life of Cranmer, 1812. p. 1077. et seq.

tation. Gardiner indeed affected to answer it in Latin under a feigned name; when the Archbishop, though then in prison, vindicated his own work to a very great extent, and intended some addition to that vindication, if it might have been^t, "before his life," as he said, "were taken away, which he saw was likely to be within a very short space." After that event, the learned Peter Martyr indeed appeared as his acute and elaborate defender.

But as Gardiner, under the assumed title of M. A. Constantius, had so unfairly proceeded with Cranmer's book as to confound the method of it, and to disjoin and mangle passages in subserviency only to his own objections; the Archbishop was of opinion, that if learned foreigners saw his *Defence of the true doctrine* translated into the Latin tongue, (as the second attack of Gardiner was written in that language,) it would sufficiently vindicate him in their judgement and esteem. Sir John Cheke, an accomplished scholar, elegantly performed this ser-

^t Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. 2. ch. 25. The work is supposed to be lost.

vice for the Archbishop; and the Defence in Latin, with some additions ^u, appeared in 1553; as it also again appeared in 1557, with observations which had been made upon a review of this translation by the archbishop himself in prison, and which had fallen into the hands of the English exiles at Embden, who offered in this publication their grateful sense of duty to the memory of the martyred primate. Prefixed to this Latin translation is an epistle from Cranmer to King Edward VI., in which he says, that "it was his care of the Lord's flock committed to him, which induced him to renew and restore the Lord's Supper according to the institution of Christ: which was the reason that, about three years before, he had set forth a book in English against the principal abuses of the papistical mass." And this Latin epistle is written, it has been observed, with great sharpness of wit, as well as in a pure and elegant style. Strype has mentioned a manuscript written by the archbishop, preserved in the library of Bene't

^u Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. 2. ch. 25.

College, Cambridge, entitled *De re sacramentaria*; and Burnet, and Collier, as well as Strype, have printed other dispersed observations by Cranmer upon the same subject. To bring together whatever relates to the archbishop's inquiries and determinations, as to this important doctrine, I may add, that in the State-Paper Office there remain, in the primate's hand-writing, a paper *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ*; another, *De Missa privata*; and in a thin folio (among discussions upon ^x other points) *De Eucharistia*, and *De Sacramentorum usu*; and in English, *What a Sacrament is*. These were, no doubt, composed before the *Defence of the true doctrine* had been written; and with other theological observations have been preserved, bearing an indorsement upon one of them, (the whole having been contained in

^x The book is indorsed, "a booke conteyning dyvers Articles, &c.," and contains discussions

1. De unitate et trinitate personarum. 2. De peccato originali. 3. De duabus Christi naturis. 4. De Justificatione. 5. De Ecclesia. 6. De Baptismo. 7. De Eucharistia. 8. De Pœnitentia. 9. De Sacramentorum usu. 10. De ministris Ecclesiæ. 11. De ritibus ecclesiasticis. 12. De rebus civilibus. 13. De corporum resurrectione et extremo judicio.

a bundle,) "*Most of* [†] *these papers Archbishop Cranmer's hand.*"

The Defence of the true doctrine, as Fox as already told us, and as Strype has repeated the information, was written on purpose for the publick instruction of the Church of England. Written too as it was by Cranmer in his mature age, after all his great reading, and all his diligent study of the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, with whose judgements and opinions in the doctrine he thus became intimately acquainted; it is, as Strype has justly ^{*} concluded, the more to be valued. And yet the use which Cranmer made of the fathers and schoolmen, in appealing to their authority for confutation of the Romanists, in his dispute with them, has been strangely undervalued by ^{*} some; as if

[†] The other separate papers, which I inspected at the State-Paper Office, are the following: 1. *De Sacerdotum et Episcoporum ordine ac ministerio.* 2. *De potestate ac primatu Papæ*: indorsed 1537. 3. *De Fide.* 4. *De veneratione sanctorum, et imaginibus*: two loose books.

^{*} Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. 2. ch. 25.

^a Dr. Gloucester Ridley, in his valuable life of Bishop Ridley, censures very justly the inconsiderate observation of Mr. Gilpin in his life of Latimer, that Ridley and Cranmer should have

with the Romanists any argument could be more effectual, than that which laid open the weakness of pretences under which they sheltered themselves from the efficacy of scriptural arguments alone; or as if the archbishop might have been content to give merely a rational account of his faith; and, by disavowing the authority of the fathers as insufficient, have ^b acknowledged that he held opinions contrary to the Church through all ages! No: the archbishop knew the value of the authority in question; and accordingly, in Injunctions, given by King Edward the Sixth, in the first year of his reign, to the Dean and Chapter of York, (and to the governours also of other cathedrals,) of which Cranmer no doubt was the author, especial attention is directed to this point. “^c Item, they shall make a librarie

avoided appealing to the fathers. The strongest arguments that can be produced against popery, as Atterbury has observed, are the Fathers and Bibles.

^b See Ridley's Life, ut supr. p. 493.

^c Register of the Dean and Chapter of York, fol. 46. a. Burnet mentions this Register, but I think that he had never seen it. See his History of the Reformation, vol. 3. under the year 1547. If he had examined it, he would surely have

in some convenient place within their church, within the space of one year next ensuyng this visitation, and shall have in the same Saynte *Augustynes, Basill, Gregorie Nazianzene, Hierome, Ambrose, Chrisostome, Cipriane, Theophilact, Erasmus*, and other good writers' workes." But more powerfully than in a mere recommendation of the study of the fathers, Cranmer has illustrated the obligations of his cause to them in his *Defence of the true doctrine*; and upon the copiousness, as well as the accuracy, of citations in it from their works, attention may be fixed without fear of contradiction, and with full confidence in their value.

Of Cranmer, and Ridley, and the rest of the Protestant Clergy who framed the *Communion Service* in 1548, which the *Defence* of Cranmer illustrates throughout, and which is our liturgical rejection of Transubstantia-

extracted from it some of the valuable information which it contains, as applicable to the noble purpose in which he was engaged.

a Just as it is said of our Established Church generally: "She has produced *the strongest arguments against Popery—Fathers and Bibles.*" Atterbury, Preface to his *Answer to Some Considerations on the spirit of Martin Luther, &c.* See also the preceding note, a.

tion, it has however been lately asserted, that they believed somewhat equivalent to Transubstantiation in what they taught, and asserted, of the 'real presence of Christ in

• It will be proper here to recite the words of Cranmer in the Preface to his book against Gardiner, with which Archbishop Sharp has closed his excellent discourse upon *the sense of the Church of England as to the real presence in the Eucharist*. This passage "of the most learned Archbishop Cranmer," Dr. Sharp truly affirms, "may go further than any other man's for the ascertaining, and clearing, the sense of our Church in this matter, since he had the principal hand in compiling both our *Liturgy* and our *Articles*."—"When I say and repeat many times in my book," Cranmer says, "that the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the Sacrament; lest any man should mistake my words, and think that I mean, that although Christ be not corporally in the outward visible signs, yet he is corporally in the persons that duly receive them: this is to advertise the reader, that I mean no such thing: but my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue, and benefit, of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of his blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the Sacraments; BUT ALL THIS I UNDERSTAND OF HIS SPIRITUAL PRESENCE; of the which he saith, *I will be with you until the world's end*. And, *Wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them*. And, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him*. Nor no more truly is he corporally or really present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper, than he is in the due ministration of Baptism;" that is to say, in both spiritually, by grace. Abp. Sharp's Serm. vol. 7. p. 370.

the Sacrament. Now the fact is, that they positively disowned any material presence of Christ's body, or any part of it, either by conversion, substitution, or union; and believed no other than a figurative presence of Christ's body properly so called, yet affirming the Eucharist to be a true and real communication of the virtues and benefits of his body, not merely a figurative commemoration of them. And Cranmer, and Ridley, and Hooper, not to mention other learned Protestants, have left us their ample assertions and their full belief in proof of this, and in vindication of the honour of our Reformed Church; and with their blood sealed the truths which they taught. But the author, who would involve these great men in the very error of their adversaries, betakes himself also to other expedients, in connection with his pretence; and brings forward the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, "f the bishop of

^f The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 1825, by Charles Butler, Esq. p. 321; and the Enquiry as to the Declaration against Transubstantiation, &c. published anonymously in 1822, but of which Mr. Butler avows himself the author in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, and copies it into the eighteenth letter in that recent work.

Down; *than whom the whole Protestant Church boasts no fairer name*; who had fully examined Transubstantiation and the Mass, and declared, after his examination of them, that the doctrine of the Catholick Church upon them was not idolatrous." But was this really the *full examination* of bishop Taylor upon the subject? Not so: the few lines from "The Liberty of Prophesying," which are adduced, were the observation of Taylor in his younger days, and were published in 1647; but in "The Dissuasive from Popery," published by him when reading and judgment were matured, in 1664, the masterly, and learned, and eloquent pages throughout denounce Transubstantiation and the Mass as absolutely idolatrous. The learned remarker upon ^s Cranmer, and Ridley, and Taylor, knows that I am correct in my assertion; and he knows, or ought to know, that a very vigilant prelate of the English Church long since noticed the endeavour, which the remarker has stated, made by Taylor in his "Liberty of Prophesying"

to free the Papists from formal idolatry; the prelate adding, “^h but the same Dr. Taylor afterwards, in his *Dissuasive from Popery*, fully *confutes Dr. Hammond*, (who would have the papistical worship of the host to be only material idolatry,) *and himself*; and truly proves, that the popish adoration of the host in the Eucharist is properly idolatrical.” Now can the remarker upon Cranmer, and Ridley, and Taylor, himself a scholar of indefatigable research, not have known this latter work of a man *than whom the whole Protestant Church boasts no fairer name*? Or can he hope to content the reader with a meagre extract from Taylor, afterwards over-ruled by himself, and present *that* as the solemn and only decision, upon the subject, of a man *than whom the whole Protestant Church boasts no fairer name*? Is the suppression of truth the way to promote any inquiry, civil or religious? And is a compliment to the name of a great divine a compensation for withholding the mention of his illustrious services to the Pro-

^h Bp. Barlow's remains, p. 203. See also in the Appendix to this volume an extract from bishop Taylor's own book.

testant Church, in the elaborate and unanswerable *Dissuasive from Popery*? And is the whole truth proclaimed, when Mr. Butler also ⁱ cites another prelate of the English Church in his behalf, because that prelate said in the House of Lords, when the Declaration against Transubstantiation was enacted by the law of the land, “^k that the Church of Rome was not idolatrous?” This is all that Mr. Butler tells of Dr. Gunning, bishop of Ely. But what was the conduct of this bishop? He had reflected, no doubt, on the hastiness of his saying; and though he had also said that he could not take that test against Popery, “^l yet as soon as the Bill was passed, he took it.” How Mr. Butler may digest this practical answer of one of his own witnesses, it is not easy to say; but it may be easily seen why he himself, accomplished in the science of the law, has not brought forward this evidence.

But besides these appeals to Protestant divines in favour, as it is pretended, of Tran-

ⁱ Book of the Rom. Cath. Ch. p. 327.

^k Burnet, Hist of his own Times, under the year 1678.

^l Ibid.

substantiation; Mr. Butler has also directed his readers to the Articles of the Church of England, one of which, as it had been drawn up by Cranmer, was altered in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and rendered “^m so comprehensive,” he says, “as to let in the believers of Transubstantiation.” Now let our Protestant countrymen be more fully informed as to this allegation. And in order to this, the old paragraph of Cranmer’s article is first to be observed: “ⁿ Since the very being of human nature doth require, that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but must of necessity be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time: and since, as the holy Scriptures testify, Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to believe, or confess, that there is a real or corporal presence, as they (the Papists) phrase it, of the body

^m Book of the Rom. Cath. Ch. p. 324.

ⁿ Articles of Religion, 1552. Art. XXIX.

and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist." This was omitted in the Articles established as they now stand. And why? "The design of the government was at that time much turned to *the drawing over the body of the nation to the Reformation*," (bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, and especially in his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, has well observed,) "in whom the old leaven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Therefore it was thought not expedient to offend them by so particular a definition in this matter; in which the very words *real presence* were rejected. It might, perhaps, be also suggested, that here a definition was made that went too much upon the principles of natural philosophy; which, how true soever, might not be the proper subject of an article of religion. Therefore it was thought fit to suppress the old paragraph; (*it was thought enough to condemn Transubstantiation, Hist. Ref. ann. 1559*;) though the paragraph was a part of the Article that was subscribed. Yet it was not published. But the para-

graph, *The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, &c.* Art. 28th, this paragraph was put in its stead, and was received and published by the next Convocation; which upon the matter was a *full explanation of the way of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; that he is present in a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that faith is the mean by which he is received.* This seemed to be more theological, and IT DOES INDEED AMOUNT TO THE SAME THING;" that is, the declaration in the old paragraph against Transubstantiation. And we see, Burnet continues, "what was the sense of the first Convocation in queen Elizabeth's reign: *it differed in nothing from that in king Edward's time:* and therefore, though the old paragraph is now no part of our Articles, yet we are certain that the clergy at that time did not at all doubt the truth of it. We are sure it was their opinion; since they subscribed it, though they did not think it fit to publish it, at first; and though it was afterwards changed for another *that was the same in sense.*" (Burnet on the 28th Article.)

So much for the circumstance of *letting in*, as Mr. Butler calls it, *those who believed in Transubstantiation*. But unless they professed what the Article °delivers, they were *let in* to no other purpose than self-congratulation on their mental reserve, or than the jesuitical pretence of conforming to what they did not believe. If indeed they had been *let in* without the security of this profession when required, there is no knowing to what extent a feigned submission to Protestantism might have carried them.

I come now to mention some important passages in the *Defence of the true doctrine*, which relate to established articles of our faith, and agree with the decisions of Cranmer upon the subjects in our national confession. They are his sentiments upon the doctrines of universal redemption through Christ, and of regeneration in baptism: the former being in the preface to his book, where he describes the reason of Christ's coming into the world, and again in the work, itself, from his re-

° See the present Articles of Religion, Art. XXVIII. throughout.

presentation of Christ as our "high bishop," until "he took all men's sins unto himself;" and the latter more than once in the body of the work, with this perspicuous declaration: "Because the common custom of men is to wash in water, therefore our *spiritual regeneration in Christ*, or spiritual washing in his blood, *is declared unto us in baptism by water.*" So desirous, indeed, was Cranmer, from first to last, to maintain the belief of universal redemption, that in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, published in 1543, which is admitted to be his work; in the Royal ^PInjunctions of 1547, which (as I have before said) are believed to be drawn up by his pen; and in the Defence of the true doctrine in 1550; he is uniform, animated, perspicuous, and encouraging to every true penitent. And with this

^P One of the anthems, directed to be sung in these injunctions, is this: "Lyke as Moyses lifte uppe the serpent in the wildernes, even so was our Savyoure Jesus Christe lifte uppe upon the crosse, that whosoever belevethe in him shulde not perishe, but have joye for ever: ffor God so loved the worlde, that he gave his onelie begotten Sonne, that such as beleve in him shulde not perishe, but have life everlasting." Regist. D. and Ch. of York, fol. 47. b.

confidence he closed his days in 1556: "The great mystery that God became man," he said, "was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to Thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present."

II. From what has been said respecting the Archbishop's book, and other works connected with it, I proceed to a vindication of his character and conduct in regard to circumstances, which elsewhere have been detailed, not without misrepresenting the history both of himself and of the Reformation; and which, in the depreciation of both, have endeavoured to exalt the adversaries of Protestantism. That the character of Cranmer will not allow deductions, he must be an injudicious advocate who should pretend. I might indeed introduce his failings as pleading, considering his difficult station, for some remission of severe judgement upon them: I

might plead his virtues as far outweighing those failings. But my object in these pages is only to examine certain statements and insinuations, brought against him and his cause, in a tone of confidence as if not to be shaken, and as if defying contradiction; as if it were just to condemn another, and take little or no notice of facts that acquit him; as if the eloquence of declamation might bid inquiry seek no further. Hence, if I may here advert to the revived slander upon the memory also of Cranmer's early friend, the early

^r That the ribaldry, scandal, and inconsistency, which are found in the pages of Bayly and of Phillips upon the subject of Anne Boleyn, should in these times be revived, is hardly credible. The refutations of these malignant reflections are numerous; as I shall presently recount. Phillips, who was a Canon of Tongres, half a century since followed Sanders, whom about half a century before Bayly also followed; and they are accompanied by another ecclesiastick of their communion, in bringing forward again the report of Anne Boleyn being the daughter of Henry. See a Sure way to find out the True Religion, &c. by the Rev. T. Baddeley, 12mo. Manchester, 3d. ed. 1823. p. 29. But this is the person, who, in speaking of Cranmer, bestows upon him every infamous name which the imagination can form, and the pen describe, p. 72. and then in a note, with unparalleled effrontery, appeals to the biography of Dr. Lempriere, a Protestant Clergyman, as if confirming all he says; when Dr. Lempriere in fact is the eulogist of the Archbishop.

friend too of the Reformation, the celebrated Anne Boleyn, who is not concerned to find that, to their notice of the calumny, Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler have not distinctly subjoined the references to authors who have refuted it? that they talk only of "an attempt" to refute it, of its being "*problematical*," and of a probability in favour of the accused? that to "the powerful arguments

« "All the account of Anne Boleyn by Sanders is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage king Henry, who pretended conscience to annul his marriage for the nearness of affinity, and yet would after that marry his own daughter. It leaves also a foul and lasting stain both on the memory of Anne Boleyn, and of her incomparable daughter, queen Elizabeth. *It also derogates so much from the first reformers, who had some kind of dependance on queen Anne Boleyn, that it seems to be of great importance for directing the reader in the judgment he is to make of persons and things, to lay open the falsehood of this account.*" Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 42, which see. Hence Dr. Southey has adverted to "the fiendish malignity, with which her story has been blackened by the Romanists." Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 37. "With characteristick effrontery they asserted, that her mother and sister had been both mistresses of the king, and that she was his own daughter!" Ibid. p. 38.

† Lingard, Hist. of Eng. vol. vi. p. 153.

» Butler, Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 191.

of Le Grand," and "the strong assertions of Sanders," as they are called, many eminent names, as of ^xCamden, and Herbert, and Ridley, and others, besides that of Burnet, have not been opposed? that the ^yquestion-

^x See Lord Herbert's Hist. of K. Henry VIII. p. 259. And Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. vol. i. p. 42, 43. And his Appendix, p. 278, 279. See the memory also of this injured lady rescued from other slanders in a very curious and valuable addition to the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, recently edited, with great taste and judgment, by Mr. Singer.

^y "A book of one Rastal, a judge, that was never seen by any other person than Sanders." Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 42. And pretending no other existence, it may be added, than what a marginal note in Sanders's book exhibits: "*hæc narratio à Gulielmo Rastallo judice, in vita Thomæ Mori.*" There is no printed life of Sir Thomas More by Rastal. Wood indeed mentions a life of More by this person, as a manuscript; but evidently upon report, and not upon the sight of it. See Ath. Ox. ed. 1691, vol. i. col. 115. Rastal was a Romanist, the son of John Rastal, who married the sister of Sir Thomas More, and who, according to Wood, was a zealous man for the Catholick cause, and a great hater of the proceedings of K. Hen. VIII. as to his divorce, and for his ejecting the pope's power from the nation. Ath. Ox. i. col. 38. Some hasty report, some fabricated malignity, from such a parent, and in such times, the son perhaps had heard, and again reported, and even committed to writing; but if he did thus much, where is any contemporary authority to sanction the slanderous tale? And why slumbered it, so gratifying as at an earlier period the knowledge of it must have been to the enemies of the Reformation, for more than half a century? About thirty years

able existence of the very authority, upon which Sanders founded his tale, has not been stated? and that their cold and circumlocutory avowal of not believing the tale, (without the proper guidance, however, to the testimonies that expose the wickedness and silence the effrontery of the charge,) should yet be accompanied with the declaration of one of

after the first appearance of Sanders's book, the calumny reappeared with a pretence by the narrator of it, that he had *understood* from several persons, while he was in England, just what Sanders relates; with which he introduces into his pages whatever may further vilify her name, in statements most absurd, and in the grossest language. And his motive too, like that which inserted the tale in Sanders, sprung from revenge of the darkest character; it is found in a rare book, entitled, *Examen Catholicum Edicti Anglicani, quod contra Catholicos est latum auctoritate Parliamenti Angliæ, Anno Dom. 1606, &c.* "Is enim rex [Henricus]—in eam dementiam est prolapsus, ut eam, quam olim adulter ex Bolenii Vicecomitis uxore, Annam (Sanderus docet, et ab Anglis plurimis anno præterito, dum in Angliâ easem, *intellexi*) procreaverat prolem, in matrimonium, repudiata legitimâ et sanctissimâ conjuge, duxerit." Ed. Paris, 1607, fol. 5. The wretched scribbler then proceeds to state, in words which I will not copy, that Anne Boleyn, not content to indulge her vicious propensities at home, went into France for similar purposes; and after her return to England, he says, "fit filia pro conjuge, scortum pro uxore!" His subsequent ribaldry as to queen Elizabeth would be laughable, if it were not malicious. So much for impartial narratives!

these gentlemen, that “^a he cannot think the historians, who have asserted it, deserving the epithet of *fiendish malignity*, which Dr. Southey has bestowed upon them in his Book of the Church?” How gratifying might it have been, if, instead of this, the able pen, which wrote it, had severely reprehended Sanders, the leader of these historians, and

“^a to the *fiend*

“ Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles :

“ So fares it, when with truth falsehood contends !”

But I hasten to what immediately concerns the archbishop. And I shall pursue the recent observations of Dr. Lingard step by step ; occasionally joining to them the corresponding remark, made by other learned writers of the Romish Church. Nor will I “set down any thing” without a careful

^a Butler, Book of the Roman Cath. Church, p. 191.

^a Milton, Par. Reg. It is to be lamented that the term is applicable, which has been given to Sanders’s calumny. “The authority of our countryman, Sanders, a man so famous for *veracity*, that if Captain Lemuel Gulliver had not supplanted him, we might use the proverbial phrase, *It is as true as if Sanders had said it !*” Jortin, Additions to Neve’s Remarks on Phillips, p. 563.

appeal to the evidences, which substantiate what I relate.

1. The elevation of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury is thus described. "I know not why Burnet is so anxious to persuade his hearers, that Cranmer was unwilling to accept the archbishoprick, and found means to delay the matter six months. There were few instances of the see of Canterbury being filled so soon after a vacancy. Six months indeed elapsed before his consecration; but that arose from the negociation with Rome to procure his bulls. He must have given his consent at least three months before." Lingard, Hist. of England, 2d edit. vol. 6. pp. 253, 254.

Now, ought not Dr. Lingard here to have given Cranmer's own account of his declining the archbishoprick? And is not Burnet right in believing the solemn asseveration of the primate, made in the presence of his enemies? "*I protest before you all,*" said Cranmer, "*there never was a man came more unwilling to a bishoprick than I did to that;*"

▷ Fox, Acts and Mon.

insomuch that when king Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time." To the insinuation of Dr. Martin, in his answer to this manly avowal, that there was a base compact between the king and the archbishop, the latter replied, with all the firmness of insulted veracity: "You say not true!" Dr. Lingard, however, having omitted this self-defence of Cranmer, is opposed to it, as we have seen, in saying that *there are few instances of the see of Canterbury being filled so soon after a vacancy as in six months*; as if the delay of Cranmer had been only in conformity to custom, and the time in question a portion absolutely requisite to complete the forms of his elevation; and that therefore Cranmer is not to be believed. Now the predecessors of Cranmer, for more than a century at least, were certainly not thus impeded in their approach to the primacy. We inquire after the dates of vacancy and succession in the cases of Islip, and Chichel  , and Stafford,

   Archbishop Bredwardin died Aug. 26, 1349. *Islip* was

and Kemp, and Bouchier, and Dean, from 1349 to 1501, and find all the formalities of the bull, and the reception of the pall, and the consecration, *within* the time named. Then why should six months be required for the negotiation with Rome, in Crammer's case, to procure *his* bulls? Have we not the answer in the archbishop's own declaration? And yet Dr. Lingard says, that "the necessary bulls for Crammer were

his successor, by the papal bull, dated Oct. 7, 1349, published in the chapter-house at Canterbury, Dec. 18, and he was consecrated the 20th. *Le Neve's Fasti. Eccl. Angl.* p. 6. Archbishop Arundel died Feb. 19, or 20, 1413. *Chichel* was his successor, by translation, March 4, 1413; received his temporalities in May, and his pall in July following. *Le Neve*, p. 7. *Chichel* died April 12, 1443. *Stafford* was his successor, by the papal bull, dated May 15, 1443, received the temporalities in June, was consecrated in August, and inthronized in September. *Le Neve*, p. 7. *Stafford* died in June, or July, 1452. *Kemp* was his successor, by the bull, dated July 21, 1452. The bull of his translation reached Canterbury, Sept. 21, the next day was read in the chapter, and the same day he received his cross. *Le Neve*, p. 7. *Kemp* died March 22, 1543. *Bouchier* was his successor, elected April 22 following, and received the bull of confirmation August 22. *Le Neve*, p. 8. *Langton* died Jan. 27, 1500, that is 1500-1. *Dean* succeeded him; elected in April following, and confirmed by the papal bull May 26. *Le Neve*, p. 8. Abundance of similar examples, as to time, in the cases of prelates of other sees, might be added.

expedited with *unusual dispatch*." Yes; after the see had long remained vacant, owing to the endeavour of Cranmer to decline it, *then* came the papal bull,^d bearing the protracted date; and still the primate elect delayed his consecration another month.

2. This leads us to the difficulty, as Dr. Lingard terms it, which occurred at this solemnity. "By what casuistry could the archbishop elect, who was well acquainted with the services expected from him, reconcile it with his conscience to swear at his consecration canonical obedience to the pope, when he was already resolved to act in opposition to the papal authority? With the royal approbation he called four witnesses into St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, and in their presence^e declared, that by the oath of obedience to the pope, which for the sake

^d Warham died Aug. 23, 1532. The bull for Cranmer to succeed him was dated Feb. 22, 1532-3, and he was consecrated March 30 following. Le Neve, p. 8. Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. i. ch. 4.

^e Strype and Collier have printed the protestation, copied from the register of Abp. Cranmer.

of form he was obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England. Thence he proceeded to the altar: the ceremony was performed after the usual manner: and the pontifical oath was cheerfully taken by the new prelate, both before his consecration, and at the delivery of the pallium." Lingard, Hist. vol. 6. p. 254. So Mr. Butler: "Although, when he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer took the customary oath of obedience to the see of Rome, did he not, just before he took it, retire into a private room, and protest against it? Was this honourable?" Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 216.

No; certainly such conduct would deserve a contrary epithet; as the calling *four witnesses only*, before whom he was to swear, would be pronounced a suspicious and unjustifiable act. But the suspicious and dishonourable privacy has been only pretended. Proof is yet wanting. They, who have con-

curred with it in Phillips's ^f Life of Cardinal Pole, have withheld the replies to it by the distinguished ^g writers who rose immediately in the cause of Protestantism, and reviewed that insidious biography with all the accuracy requisite to detect its numerous misrepresentations. By them, and by Burnet and Strype before them, the truth has been minutely drawn from authentick documents. The scruples of Cranmer, concerning the legality of the customary oath, had been communicated to the best canonists and civilians. By their advice he was led to protest against it; *not, however, in a private room*, but publickly and repeatedly ^h; first in the chapter-house of the church in which he was to be consecrated; and then before those, by whom he was consecrated, at the altar of the church. The ⁱ register of the archbishop commences with the declaration to succeeding times, (and yet exists,) that his protestation was thus made

^f See Phillips's 2d. edit. vol. ii. p. 210.

^g Dr. Neve, Dr. Ridley, Mr. Stone, &c.

^h Burnet, Hist. of the Ref. vol. i. p. 129. And Strype, Life of Cranmer, b. i. ch. 4.

ⁱ In the library of MSS. at Lambeth Palace.

^k *openly* and *publicly*, before witnesses specially and officially named, and doubtless in the presence of many other unnamed. It has been rightly ^l considered as surprising, that Phillips, the modern narrator of the pretended clandestinity, should have confidently asserted it, when the refutation of it by Fuller in particular, whom he cites soon afterwards, was before him. Phillips silently, and as if ashamed of his predecessor, partly follows indeed Sanders, who says that Cranmer protested only to a notary, that he unwillingly took the oath of obedience to the pope; when before him other testimonies also were open, which deny any privacy. To the oath itself, it may be observed, the coeval abjuration of Gardiner has been assimilated. He had taken the same oath to the pope, and then refused the supremacy maintained in it,

^k In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis autentica persona, et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant. Archiep. electus dico, allego, et in hiis scriptis, *palam, publice* et *expresse* protestor, &c. The Archbishop's Protestation, Reg. fol. 4.

^l Stone's Remarks upon Phillips's Life of Pole, 2d edit. p. 233.

with a declaration, " " that an engagement against right is by no means binding." But still that is an after-act, and indefensible. Cranmer, before he took the oath, declared the limitations by which he secured himself in his allegiance to the king, and in his determination to reform the church, against a power which would admit neither the supremacy of the former, nor the necessity of alteration in the latter. Even the jurist, Dr. Martin, the enemy of Cranmer, is opposed to " the *secret protest*," as Dr. Lingard calls it; and admits the publicity of the fact, while he commented indeed severely, and in part falsely, upon the occasion of it.

" " Martin. Did you not swear obedience to the see of Rome?

" Cranmer. Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

" Martin. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth *by records and writings here ready to be shewn*.

¹⁴¹ From Gardiner's *Oratio De Vera Obedientia*. See Ridley's *Review of Phillips's Life of Pole*, p. 308. Fox has adverted to the perjury of Gardiner, and of Bonner, with irresistible strength of reasoning, in his *Acts and Mon.*

¹⁴² Fox, *Acts and Mon.*

“Cranmer. But I remember, *I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time.*”

So that here also we see the Archbishop believing his own sincerity, which at first led him to declare his entire repugnance to the oath, uninjured by taking it, after his consultation with those who advised the protest; a belief, which, in the conference with Dr. Martin, he solemnly repeats. Dr. Lingard adds an observation, made by a correspondent of Burnet, (and admitted in the Appendix to the third volume of the History of the Reformation,) who says, he had two manuscript letters of Cardinal Pole, in which the Cardinal charges Cranmer with having made his protestation only in a private manner. The Cardinal is said to *charge* the Archbishop with the matter in question: but it is not alleged that he *substantiated* the charge. Of the letters, in which this charge is brought forward, no account is given by Phillips, the eulogist of Pole, and the slanderer of Cranmer. No verification appears in a note either from the letters of Pole, published by Quirini; or from any other work, which relates

to the character and conduct of Pole. Not a whisper is uttered as to the page or volume, manuscript or printed, whence the precious information has been stolen. But Phillips may be traced to ° Sanders; and perhaps he was also indebted to the correspondent of Burnet, who adds that Pole “^p branded the alleged proceeding of Cranmer with such expressions as he was unwilling to transcribe.” But no transcript of this indignation has yet descended to us. To this concealed authority alone Dr. Lingard refers; leaving Sanders, and the published letters of Pole, and even Phillips, “^q by whose aid (weak masters though they be) he has be-dimmed” occasionally the light of history, unsummoned in its behalf. Nor has the observation of Martin, the civilian, in his con-

° Sanders says, that Cranmer protested to a single notary, that he took the oath against his will; when, in fact, he neither protested only before a single notary, nor that he took the oath unwillingly; but, as Dr. Lingard says, he took it “*cheerfully* ;” cheerfully, I suppose, upon the belief that by the publick protestation he had satisfied his own mind. See Burnet, Hist. Ref. 1. Records, p. 284. and Sanders De Schismate, &c. ed. 1585, fol. 58. b. ed. 1586, p. 83.

^p Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. 3. Append. p. 309.

^q Shakspeare, Tempest.

ference with Cranmer, been noticed as it deserves. For there he appeals, yet certainly with no friendly voice, to the record; and there, as we have seen, *the repetition of Cranmer's oath* connects with it *the repeated protestation*, which Martin indeed denies not; but, by the abuse with which he loads it, confirms the fact. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, to "which Mr. Phillips and Dr. Lingard often refer with approbation, has not thought the denial of the publicity in question worthy a single remark. Perhaps he considered, as doubtless every liberal inquirer after truth will consider, that the objurgatory words of Pole should have been produced; as the reader might then see whether reason had given place to railing, and whether the circumstances stated might in any respect be impugned. The charges made by Pole, have not escaped at all times the suspicion of * fabrication. And if the correspondent of

* "Collier was indeed a protestant, and a man of great learning; but such a one as protestants generally, and justly, regard with suspicion." See Catholicus's Episcopal Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, &c. p. 30.

* See Burnet, Hist. Ref. 1. Append. p. 282. "This was a

Burnet had lived to read the masterly vindications, by Neve and Ridley in particular, of the publicity which the accusation in his manuscript letters is said to contradict, he would, I am persuaded, have joined his voice to the absolving voices of them and of Burnet.

3. The divorce of Catherine next occasions Dr. Lingard to introduce the Archbishop as a gross hypocrite. "As soon as the convocation had separated," (after the debate on this subject,) "*a hypocritical farce was enacted between Henry and Cranmer.* The latter wrote a most urgent letter to the king, representing the evils to which the nation was exposed from a disputed succession, and begging, for the exoneration of his own conscience, and the performance of his duty to the country, the royal licence to examine and determine the great cause of the divorce." Hist. of Eng. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 256.

It had been well if Dr. Lingard had exhibited this letter of the Archbishop. It would at least have rectified one mistake of Dr.

forgery of Cardinal Pole's, which Sanders greedily caught to dress up the scene."

Milner, who also, in his reflections upon Cranmer, says, that “^yhe began an hypocritical and collusive letter to the King, *dated March 11, 1533*, representing to him the scandal taken at the undecided state of the divorce;” while the reader also would have been again enabled to form his own judgement. I will therefore give this letter, as it still exists, in the hand-writing of the defamed prelate, among other ^{*}original documents respecting him in the State-Paper Office.

“Please yt your highnes, that wher your graces’ grete cause of matrimony is (as it is thought) thorough all Christianytie divulgated, and in the mowthes of the rude and ignoraunte comon people of this your grace’s realme so talked of, that fewe of theym do feare to reporte and saye, that therof ys likelyhode hereafter to ensue grete inconuenience, daunger, and perill to this your grace’s realme, and moche incerteintie of succession, by whiche things the saide ignoraunte people be not a litle

^y Strictures on Southey’s Book of the Church, p. 57.

^{*} There is a copy of this and of other letters written by the Archbishop, among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum; some of which have been printed in the Christian Remembrancer, 1820. vol. 2. p. 661, et seq.

offended : And forasmuche as yt hathe pleased Almighty God and your grace, of your habundant goodnes to me shewed, to call me (albeyt a poure wretche and moche unworthie) unto the high and chargeable office of primate and archebisshope in this your grace's realme, wherein I beseche Almighty God to graunte me his grace so to use and demeane myself, as may be standing with hys pleasure, and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weale of this your grace's said realme ; and considering also the obloquie and ^abrute which daylye doth spring and increase of the clergie of this realme, and speciallie of the heades and presidents of the same, because they in this behalve do not forsee and provide convenient remedies as might expell and put out of doubt all such inconveniencies, perilles, and daungers, as the saide rude and ignoraunte people do speke and talke to be ymynent ; I your moost humble orator and bedeman am, in consideration of the premisses, urgently constrayned at this tyme most humbly to beseche your most noble grace, that wher my office, and duetie, is by you and your predecessours sufferauce and graunts to directe and ordre causes spirituall in this your grace's realme according to the lawes of God and holye church, and for relief of almaner greves and infirmities of the people, Goddes subjects and yours, happening in the said

^a Bruit, i. e. noise, rumour.

spirituall causes, to provide suche remedie as shalbe thought most convenient for their helpe and relief in that behalf; and because I wolde be right lothe, and also it shall not becom me (forasmoche as your grace ys my prince and souereigne) to entreprise any parte of my office in the said weightie cause, without your grace's favour obtained and pleasure therein first knowen; it may please the same to ascerteyn me of your grace's pleasure in the premisses, to th'entent that the same knowen I may procede for my discharge, afore God, to th'execution of my saide office and duetie, according to his calling and your's: Beseechyng your highnes most humbly uppon my knees to pardon me of thes my bolde and rude letters, and the same to accepte and take in good sense and parte. ffrom my Manor at Lamhith the xjth day of Aprile in the first year of my Consecration.

“ Your highnes' most humble

“ bedisman and Chaplain,

“ THOMAS CANTUAR.”

Now the observations of Dr. Lingard and Dr. Milner, and of other writers, upon this transaction, have been gathered *from the answer of the King to the Archbishop, which has been published*; not from the preceding

letter, which should ^b never be kept from the eye of the reader of English history. Lord Herbert had probably never examined it; for he says no more, in correcting an untrue assertion of Sanders upon the subject, than that “^c the records which I have seen mention only that Cranmer demanded and obtained leave of the King to determine the matter, since it caused much doubt among the common people, and fears of great inconvenience in the matter of succession.” Burnet, and Collier, and Strype, would not have overpassed the humility and the piety, observable in it, if they had seen this letter. And though, as Strype has related, the Archbishop by pronouncing the sentence of divorce drew upon himself an implacable hatred from the pope and emperor abroad, as well as from the papists at home; every candid Romanist would at least concede to this letter the character of judicious caution, and perhaps be led to believe the assertion of one of Cranmer’s biographers, that his

^b A transcript from the copy of this letter, with some variations, is in the *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. 2. p. 662.

^c *Hist. of Hen. VIII.* ed. 1649. p. 347.

being placed in this cause of the divorce at the head of other commissioners, (among whom indeed was the active bishop Gardiner,) “^d gave great offence to the Queen, and shocked the Archbishop himself.” Convinced, however, that it was his duty to determine the King’s cause, yet knowing that his judgement could have no effect without the royal permission; therefore it was that the Archbishop, “^e as the most principal minister of his majesty’s spiritual jurisdiction within the realm,” solicited and obtained the necessary consent, the King “saving to himself his pre-eminence over him as his subject.”

“But what, it was then asked, must be thought of the King’s present union with Anne Boleyn? How could he have proceeded to a new marriage before the former had been lawfully annulled? Was the right of succession less doubtful now than before? To silence these questions, Cranmer held another court at Lambeth; and, having first heard the King’s proctor, officially declared

^d Gilpin’s Life of Abp. Cranmer.

^e Burnet, Hist. Ref.

that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony; that their marriage was and had been publick and manifest; and that he moreover confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority." Lingard, *Hist. ut supr.* vol. 6. p. 258.

Such also was the professed opinion, at the time, of Gardiner, the admired prelate of the Romanists, (though overpassed by Dr. Lingard,) who "published the King's divorce and second marriage to be done by the undoubted word of God, the censures of the most famous Universities of the world, the judgement of the Church of England, and by Act of Parliament; whereof he himself was the procurer in the Universities, and in all points a *principal doer*." Or as another prelate, not unbefriended also by the pen of Dr. Lingard, Edmund Bonner, in his Preface to Gardiner's printed Oration, has related it: "In this Oration *De Vera Obedientia*, that is, con-

^f Michael Wood's Translation of Gardiner's *De Vera Obedientia*, a book of extraordinary rarity, having been supposed to be suppressed by Romanists where possible; printed at Rouen in 1553. Pref. sign. A. 3. b.

^g M. Wood, *ut supr.* sign. b. ii. b.

cerning true obedience, — he (Gardiner) speaketh of the King's marriage ; which by the ripe judgement, authority, and privilege of the most and principal Universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the most clear and most noble lady, queen Anne : after that, touching the King's title as pertaining to the supreme head of the Church of England : lastly of all, of the false, pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England, most justly abrogated." How changed in the time of Mary was this fellow-commissioner with Cranmer ! "*Now* he layeth all the fault to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as though it had been that Archbishop's only deed. *Then* he brake the queen's head, in procuring and affirming her to be illegitimate : *now* he giveth her a plaster with recanting, and saying, she is legitimate !" But as the business of the divorce has been called "a hypocritical farce," why is not Gardiner also said to have "^h*enacted*" a part in it ? We might

^h Shakspeare, Hamlet ; and Dr. Lingard. See before, p. 49. Indeed, as Strype observes, "though Cranmer pre-

have admitted even a complimentary address to him upon the occasion, such as, “ⁱ my lord, you played once,—and were accounted a good actor.” And of the eulogium too, bestowed by Bonner upon his learned compeer, we might have expected some notice. But neither Bonner, nor Gardiner, is introduced into the pages of Dr. Lingard with any ridicule, or reprehension, upon the conduct of either in regard to the divorce. For an obvious purpose it was sufficient to aim at the conviction only of one, and to leave uncensured the “^k fellows of his (pretended) crime.”

Cranmer held another court at Lambeth, Dr. Lingard says in the preceding extract.

nounced the sentence, he was but the mouth of the rest, (the bishops of Winchester, London, Bath, Lincoln, &c.) *and they were all in as deep as he.*” Life of Cranmer, b. 1. ch. 4. And thus correctly Shakspeare, Hen. VIII.

“ By the main assent

“ Of all these learned men she was divorc’d.”

Burnet is careful that the reader should not lose sight of *Gardiner* in the business; for to his description as a bishop he adds *his* name; but distinguishes other prelates by the names only of their sees. Hist. Ref. 1. p. 131.

ⁱ Shakspeare, Hamlet.

^k Milton, Par. Lost.

He did: and there in general words, no reason being given in the sentence, confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn. But before he proceeded to this confirmation, and immediately after pronouncing the sentence of divorce upon queen Catherine, he exercised his usual judgement in addressing the king upon this important point. The letter, in his ¹own hand-writing, still exists in the State-Paper Office.

“ Please yt your highnes to be aduertised, that this xxij day of this present moneth of May I haue gyven sentence in your grace’s grete and weightie cause, the copy whereof I haue sent vnto your highnes by thys berar, Richard Watkyns. And when I was by the letters of Thurlebye, your grace’s chapleyne, aduertised of your grace’s pleasure that I shulde cause your grace’s counsaile to conceyve a procuracye concernyng the seconde matrimony, I haue sent the said letters vnto theym, and required theym to do according to the tenore therof; most humbly beseeching your highnes, that I may knowe your grace’s ferther pleasure concerning the same matrimony,

¹ This letter is also found among the copies before-mentioned, and with variations.

assone as your grace with your counsaile shalbe perfectly resolved therin. ffor the time of the coronation is so instaunte, and so nere at hande, that the matter requireth good expedition to be hadd in the same. And thus our Lord haue your highnes evermore in his blessed tuition and gouernance. ffrom Dunstaple, the xxij. day of May.

“Your highnes’ most humble

“Chaplain and bedisman,

“THOMAS CANTUAR.”

The *procuracy*, mentioned by the Archbishop, is the instrument, by which a person delegates his proctor to represent him in any judicial court or cause. The proctor, upon the present occasion, appeared in order to assert, that the marriage had been solemnized with Anne Boleyn in the preceding January. And now let us for a moment revert to this fact. “On the 25th of January, at an early hour, Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, received an order to celebrate mass in a garret at the western end of the palace of Whitehall. There he found the King attended by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of the chamber, and Anne

Boleyn accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Savage afterwards lady Berkeley.— Burnet treats this account as one of the fictions of Sanders: but it is taken from a manuscript history of the divorce, presented to queen Mary thirty years before the work of Sanders was printed. See Le Grand, ii. 110.” Lingard, Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. pp. 250, 251.

That the marriage was private, is not to be doubted; but that the King of England should condescend to the celebration of it in a ^mgarret, a circumstance seeking in vain the corroboration of Sanders, and of any other writer, and exhibited (as it is said) only in a solitary unknown manuscript, is what even the “^asmith, with open mouth swallowing a tailor’s news,” would hardly credit. Lord Herbert describes with accuracy the time and the circumstances of the

^m Sanders mentions the secrecy of the marriage, but evidently had no knowledge of its being celebrated in a garret. For after Lee had consented to proceed with the ceremony, “*annuente rege,*” Sanders only says, “*vertit se ad altare:*” De Schism. ed. 1586. pp. 90, 91. But would he not gladly, and sneeringly, have added, *in contiguatione tegulis proxima*, or some such expression, if there had been any rumour of the kind to bear him out?

ⁿ Shakspeare, King John.

marriage, except as to the presence of Cranmer; who himself has told us in a letter to Hawkyns, ambassador at the Emperor's Court, upon the subject of Anne Boleyn's coronation, "You may nott ymagin that this coronacion was before her marriage, for she was marriede muche about sainte Pauls daye last. Notwithstanding yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme *that I married her; whiche was playnly false, for I myself knewe not therof a fortenyght after yt was donne.* AND MANY OTHER THYNGES BE ALSO REPORTED OF ME, WHICHE BE MERE LYES AND TALES." Dr. Lingard has cited the self-defence of the Archbishop, so far as it rectifies the mistake of Lord Herbert, and after him of Burnet, and of Strype, and of Dr. ^p Milner too, that he was one of the witnesses at the marriage. But it has not been denied, that the duke of Norfolk,

° Archæologia, vol. xviii. And Ellis's Letters Illustr. of English Hist. 1824. vol. 2. p. 39.

^p Dr. Milner is mistaken not in this respect alone; for he says, that Cranmer "stood witness to the monarch's nuptials with Anne Boleyn, on Nov. 14, 1532." Strictures on Southey, p. 58. Cranmer was not a witness, we see by his own testimony; and the time was not in Nov. but in January.

the earl and countess of Wiltshire, and the brothers of the Queen, were present at the ceremony. It may lead the reader often to pause, when the story of Cranmer meets his eye, if he regards the conclusion of the defence, which I have just cited, and which he will not find in the pages of Dr. Lingard.

4. To the King's supremacy, as it is stated by Dr. Lingard, our attention is next required. "The spiritual supremacy of a lay prince was so repugnant to the notions to which men had been habituated, that it was every where received with doubt and astonishment. To dispel these prejudices Henry issued injunctions that the word *pope* should be carefully erased out of all books employed in the publick worship;—that all clergymen, from the bishop to the curate, should on every Sunday and holiday teach, that the King was the true head of the Church, and that the authority hitherto exercised by the popes was an usurpation, tamely admitted by the carelessness or timidity of his predecessors. Cranmer, as the first in dignity, gave the example to his

brethren, &c." (that is, as a preacher upon the subject.) Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 283.

And yet Dr. Lingard has not here informed the reader, that Gardiner *even wrote a book, violent against the supremacy of the pope*. The supremacy was invested in the King, as Lord Herbert relates it, " ^q by the approbation of his parliament. The universities and bishops of this kingdom did not a little second him; and *particularly Stephen Gardiner in his Latin Sermon^r De Vera Obedientia, with the Preface of Dr. Bonner.*" Dr. Lingard indeed ingeniously observes, that Henry " ^s called on the most loyal and learned prelates to employ their talents in support of his new dignity; and the call was obeyed by Sampson and Stokesley, Tunstal and Gardiner: by the former, as was thought, from affection to the cause,

^q Hist. of Hen. VIII. ed. 1649, pp. 389, 390.

^r There is a copy of this book in the Library of York Cathedral, viz. Stephani Wintoniensis Episcopi de Vera Obedientia Orat. 4to. Hamburgi, 1536. On the first page is a remark in MS. the coeval hand-writing, apparently, of some amazed or offended Romanist: "*Apostatæ Gardineri excusatio.*" Throughout the book are scorings and other marks, as if implying the detestation or astonishment of the penman.

^s Hist. up supr. vol. 6. p. 284

by the^t latter through fear of displeasure." Stimulated by fear, "*as was thought,*" behold Gardiner then, as well as Cranmer, *giving an example* to his brethren, and to the whole kingdom; and introduced, with a commendatory analysis of the product of his fear, by the obsequious Bonner; who concludes his address to the reader with observing, "^u if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the King's marriage or title, or of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy;—having read over this Oration, (which if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and his devilish fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee,) throw down thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length." But before we copy a syllable

^t Dr. Lingard here places Tunstal with Gardiner, *as if influenced by fear* upon the present occasion. Tunstal's letter remains, which I had not noticed, when I first printed this vindication of Cranmer; and which Dr. Lingard also has overpassed. I therefore give it, in the appendix to this volume, as a refutation of Dr. Lingard as to Tunstal's *fear*.

^u M. Wood, Transl. of Bp. Gardiner's *Oratio*, &c., and of Bonner's preface, sign. b. liii. b.

from the timid prelate's Oration, let us not fail to observe him represented by Dr. Lingard as merely "x consenting, in order to avoid the royal displeasure, to renounce the papal supremacy;" not as reprobating it with all the learning and accuracy which he possessed, and which he well knew were *rightly* so employed. The title of "y supreme head of the Church of England," Gardiner accordingly asserts, "is granted to the King by free common consent in the open court of Parliament:—wherein there is *no* z *newly invented matter* wrought: only their will was to have the power, pertaining to a prince of God's law, to be the more clearly expressed with a fit term to express it by; namely for

x Hist. ut. supr. vol. 6. p. 349.

y M. Wood, Transl. ut supr. fol. xviii.

z The Statute that declares the supremacy "is, as the common lawyers term it, *statutum declarativum*, not *introductivum novi juris*; as doth clearly appear by the preamble, which hath these words: *Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be taken and accepted supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the Clergy in their Convocation; yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, Be it enacted, that the King shall be taken and accepted supreme head, &c.*" Dr. Hakewill's Answer to Dr. Carier, &c. 1616. p. 47.

this purpose, to withdraw that vain opinion out of the common people's heads, which the false pretended power of the bishop of Rome had, for the space of certain years, blinded them withal, to the great impeachment of the King's authority." The zeal of Gardiner, and not his fear, is noticed in a manner, deserving particular attention, by one of our most learned divines at the beginning of James the first's reign: " ^a The Clergy were the forwardest in persuading the King to accept and assume the title of supreme head of the Church, as may appear in the treatises of divers bishops; as namely, Stephen Gardiner's discourse of true obedience with Bonner's preface annexed to it; Longland's sermon; and Tunstal's letter to Cardinal Pole: and surely he that shall observe their vehement protestations, *specially of Gardiner, whom I hold the most sufficient among them for learning,* and withal the soundness and weight of the

^a Dr. Hakewill, as in the preceding note, pp. 153, 154. He was the author of that most ingenious, entertaining, and learned book, *An Apology, or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*; as also of other useful works; and was Archdeacon of Surrey.

reasons which they enforce against the pope's jurisdiction, will easily believe that they thought in very deed as they wrote, that their minds and their pens concurred in one." Of short duration was the concurrence, however, (if there were any concurrence,) in the pens and minds of Gardiner and of Bonner. " ^b What man," says the indignant and accurate Fox, " what man reading this book of Winchester *De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in man's heart to make these men thus to turn the cat, as they say, in the pan, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed! If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and swore unto, what perjury most execrable it was before God and man! If they meant good faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this, so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now which was true

^b Acts and Mon.

before, or that to be now true which before was false !”

But while Dr. Lingard has not obtruded upon the reader more respecting Gardiner, on this occasion, than what illustrates the pretended fear of that prelate ; he scruples not to speak of Cranmer, as though the archbishop were a fanatick, and not a man of learning ; when, in truth, where Cranmer has been considered in the characters of a scholar and a divine, his profound learning has ever been the object of admiration ; and his composure of temper has ever been regarded in opposition to wild notions of religion. “Cranmer, as the first in dignity, gave the example to his brethren ; and zealously inculcated from the pulpit, *what his learning or fanaticism had lately discovered*, that the pontiff was the antichrist of the Apocalypse (Poli Ep. i. p. 444.) : an assertion, which then filled the Catholick with horror, but at the present day excites nothing but contempt and ridicule.” Lingard, Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. pp. 283, 284.

What ? that Cranmer had *lately discovered* this assertion, when Dr. Lingard knows that

what Cranmer inculcated had, long before his time, and in the song of the poet, as well as in the disquisition of the theologian, been a frequent theme. “^c As if his Holiness,” says the admirable writer whom I just now cited, “had never been graced with the title of Antichrist *before Henry assumed his title of supreme head!*” Dr. Lingard will allow me to refresh his memory, and to subtract from his notices of Cranmer the imputed discovery, in referring to authors with whom he is well acquainted. I am not about to expatiate upon the correctness of the discovery: I profess only to shew, historically, that the title was not coined by Cranmer. Wicliffe, a century before the archbishop, ^d believed the pope to be Antichrist. Chaucer, his contemporary, the father of our poetry; and Dante, his senior, the famous poet of Italy, ^e asserted the same of the Romish Church.

^c Dr. Hakewill, ut supr. p. 154.

^d Fox, Hist. Ecclesiastica, Argent. 1564. fol. 178. Baber's Life of Wicliffe, prefixed to his valuable republication of Wicliffe's New Test. p. xvi.

^e See Dr. Warton's notes on Pope, edit. Bowles, vol. v. p. 143.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the title was so often applied to the papal power, that Julius II. forbade the Clergy even to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The Romanists saw the tendency of this application in our own country at the time when Dr. Lingard speaks of "the discovery;" the pope being then (in 1553) "*reckoned among many as the Antichrist;*" and accordingly, "*by fabulous and ridiculous stories of Antichrist, they endeavoured to cast a mist before men's eyes, that they should the less believe and understand the pope to be him.*" Of this ingenious device Strype has presented us with a ^hspecimen, entitled, A Popish Discourse of Antichrist. Now Warburton says, that "*on this common principle, that the pope, or church of Rome, was the very Antichrist foretold, was the Reformation begun and carried on: on this was the great separation from the Church of Rome conceived and perfected.*" So that the wonder dimi-

^f Strype's Eccl. Memorials, vol. i. p. 163.

^g Ibid. p. 164.

^h Ibid. Appendix, p. 122.

ⁱ Serm. on the Rise of Antichrist.

nishes, when we find the title considered as the child of fanaticism, and as an ambidextrous weapon in theological warfare.

5. Upon the trial of Lambert very observable, next, are the words of Dr. Lingard. "Of all the prosecutions for heresy, none excited greater interest than that of Lambert, alias Nicholson, a clergyman in priest's orders, and a schoolmaster in London. Nor is it the least remarkable circumstance in his story, *that of the three men who brought him to the stake*, Taylor, Barnes, and Cranmer, two professed, even then, most certainly later, the very same doctrine as their victim, and all three suffered afterwards the same, or nearly the same, punishment." Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 367.

Has Dr. Lingard been able, then, to prove that Cranmer brought Lambert to the stake? He pretends no proof. The particulars of the examination of Lambert, he admits, have not been preserved. But he follows the assertion of Phillips, who ^k says that Cran-

^k Life of Cardinal Pole, ut supr. vol. ii. p. 208.

mer had consented to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death. Dr. Milner and Mr. Butler¹ join in asserting the especial instrumentality of the archbishop to that effect. Now from the court of the archbishop, before which he had been brought, Lambert appealed to the king. And by the king he was heard, overpowered in the disputation, and condemned to the stake. "^m We do not find," an amiable biographer of Cranmer says, "that the archbishop *took any part in his death.*" Another defender of Cranmer, against the present and other assertions of Phillips, observes, that "ⁿ Fuller acknowledges the consent which Phillips has alleged ; but I cannot see for what reason ; as it is not authenticated by any historian that I can meet with. Henry had disputed with Lambert, and ordered him to be burnt, or retract his opinion : and chancellor Wriothesley prosecuted Askew, and put her to the rack :—*but it no where appears that Cranmer's advice, or consent,*

¹ Strictures on Southey's Book of the Church, pp. 32. 60 ; and the Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 217.

^m Gilpin's Life of Cranmer.

ⁿ Stone's Remarks on Phillips, &c. ut supr. p. 240.

was asked upon either of them." Cranmer at that time believed the corporal presence; the disbelief of which was the crime of Lambert and of Askew. To Vadian, a learned foreigner, however, who had written a book denying transubstantiation, and who wished to find a patron of it in Cranmer, the refusing reply evidently marks, in the strong expression of "*hæc tam cruenta controversia*," the archbishop's aversion to cruelties which^p had been practised, in consequence of such disputes. But while these circumstances are stated, who would not wish to find, instead of them, the testimony either of Cranmer's opposition to the proceedings, or his interference in behalf of the persons whom they affected? As for the truly mournful tale of the martyr, Anne Askew, Dr. Lingard indeed refers to it only in a note, in which he

^o See the whole letter in Strype's Appendix to his Life of Cranmer, No. XXV. The date of it is believed to be 1537.

^p Alluding, most probably, to the cases of Frith and Hewet, which Cranmer mentions in the letter to Hawkyngs, before cited; the former of whom he endeavoured to save by persuasion. See Lingard, vol. vi. p. 366. And Ellis's Original Letters, &c. vol. ii. p. 40.

⁹says, she was, after two recantations, condemned to the flames by Cranmer and other bishops. And yet this injury to the fame of the lady is repelled in her own words, which Fox has preserved in her *Answer against the false surmises of her recantation*. “^r I have read the process,” says the noble-minded woman, “which is reported, of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding, this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined by the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth, but this; that I believed therein, as the Word of God did bind me to believe: *more had they never of me*. Then he made a copy which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand. But I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat; for it was no great matter, they said. Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: I Anne Askew do believe this, if God’s Word do agree to the

⁹ Hist. ut supr. vol. vi. p. 458.

^r Acts and Mon.

same, and the true catholick church. Then the bishop being in great displeasure with me, *because I made doubts in my writing*, commanded me to prison, where I was a while; but afterwards, by the means of friends, I came out again. *Here is the 'truth of that matter.* Anne Askew."

In the foreground of these melancholy proceedings should stand Gardiner, and not Cranmer. But that arrangement has not been thought expedient in the pages of Dr. Lingard. With Lambert the Archbishop had, before his trial, expostulated 'mildly on the maintenance of his alleged error; nor in the publick disputation with him was he harsh or overbearing, but appeared as it were checked by the arguments of his opponent; (or as Fox describes it, "'himself entangled, and all the audience amazed;") when Gardiner, "'being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the

^a Entries respecting the examination of this lady, appear to have been falsely made in the Register of bishop Bonner. Fox, Acts and Mon.

^t See Gilpin's Life of Cranmer, p. 58.

^u Acts and Mon.

^x Ibid.

king's commandment, observing no order, *before the Archbishop had made an end*, unshamefacedly kneeled down to take in hand the disputation." So in the case of Askew, while Bonner attempted to inveigle her in disputation, Gardiner waspishly called

⁊ Fox. Bonner lastly waited upon her in Newgate, in company with Mr. Rich. And there, the persecuted lady says, "M. Rich. and the Bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God : but I did not esteem their glosing pretences. Then came there to me M. Nich. Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born." Ibid.—Shaxton had been bishop of Salisbury, and favoured the Reformation ; resigned his bishoprick, and was in danger of suffering as a heretick : but he recanted ; and to complete this apostasy, preached the sermon at the burning of Anne Askew, and wrote a book in defence of articles to which upon his recantation he subscribed ; a transaction which escaped not the vigilance of a warm opponent to the Romanists, who in these articles considers the spirit of Gardiner to be very apparent ; I call these articles your's, because you subscribe to them, and set them forth under your name. But if I were required to say my conscience, I could not deny but I think them Winchester's workmanship ; because they agree so well with his doctrine, &c." See the Confutation of xiii Articles whereunto N. Shaxton, late bishop of Salisbury, subscribed, and caused to be set forth in print, the year of our Lord 1546, when he recanted in Smithfield at London at the burning of Mrs. Anne Askew." By R. Crowley. Address to Shaxton, sign. A. ii. What became of Shaxton in king Edward's time, Burnet says, he cannot tell ; but he found that,

her a parrot; for “^a she made some smart repartees upon this bishop of Winchester;” and to his severer remarks she replied, “^a she was ready to suffer all things at his hands; not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides; yea, and all that gladly.” The name of Cranmer, throughout the narrative of this lady’s sufferings, is “^b not once introduced either by Fox, or Lord Herbert, or Burnet, or Strype, or Collier. Upon her, it is highly probable, the sentence of condemnation was pronounced by ^c Bonner, bishop of London, in whose register proceedings against her

in the reign of Mary, he was a cruel persecutor and burner of Protestants; yet that by the Romanists he was still little considered, and raised no higher than to be bishop suffragan of Ely.

^a Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 341.

^a Fox, Acts and Mon.

^b Upon no other authority, than what is contained in the following exclamation, Dr. Milner says, that “Cranmer was *publicly* reproached with causing Askew’s death, by her companion and friend, Joan Bocher, when, subsequently, he was on the point of pronouncing the same sentence on the latter woman: It is not long ago, she said, since you condemned Anne Askew for a piece of bread; and now you are ready to condemn me for a piece of flesh.” Strictures on Southey’s Book of the Church, p. 32.

^c The bishop of London pronounced the sentence in the cases

were recorded. Upon Lambert, indeed, Cromwell, the Vicar-General, ^ddelivered the cruel judgement.

6. With the preceding case of Lambert, Dr. Lingard has embodied his own opinion of Cranmer's theological tenets, as to the doctrine of the sacrament. "Cranmer's promptitude to reject the doctrine of the real presence, when he could do it with safety, has provoked a suspicion that he did not sincerely believe it before: but Burnet and Strype conceive that he held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation at this period: and I am inclined to assent to them from the tenor of two letters already quoted, that to Hawkyins, and the other to Vadianus." Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 368.

The former of these letters, written by Cranmer, recites the opinion of Frith, who had been condemned by the bishop of London: "His said opynion ys of such nature,

of Frith and Hewet. See Cranmer's relation of this, cited by Dr. Lingard, Hist. vol. 6. p. 366. and Ellis's Orig. Lett. vol. 2, p. 40.

^d Collier, Eccl. Hist, vol. 2. p. 152.

^e Lingard and Ellis, as in the preceding note.

that he thoughte it not necessary to be believed, as an article of our faythe, that there ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the oste and sacramente of the alter; and holdeth of this poynte moste after the opynion of Oecolampadius. And surely I myself sent for hym iii or iiij tymes to persuade hym to leave that his imaginacion." The letter to Vadian is ^f supposed to express the prudent desire of eluding, and, if possible, of then suppressing controversy upon the subject, knowing the King's attachment to the doctrine of the real presence; because, "^g diei non potest, quantum hæc tam cruenta controversia—maximè apud nos benè currenti verbo evangelii obstiterit." But Dr. Lingard is not correct in supposing that, at this period, Cranmer held the Lutheran tenet. The Archbishop was asked by Martin, the civilian, at his trial, what he maintained, as to this point, and his answer is preserved.

^h Martin. What doctrine taught you,

^f Lingard, Hist. vol. 6. p. 367.

^g Strype, Life of Cranmer, App. No. XXV. and Lingard, ut supra.

^h Fox, Acts, and Mon.

when you condemned Lambert, the sacramentary, in the King's presence in White-hall?"

"Cranmer. *I maintained then the papists' doctrine.*" Dr. Lingard has here found it convenient to lean to the notions of Fox, and Burnet, and Strype; who, as Dr Wordsworth has justly observed, "ⁱ upon no better authority than the calumnies of his adversaries, and the slight presumptions arising from his early familiarity with Germans, and his translating the Latin Catechism of Justus Jonas, have supposed that Cranmer once maintained the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament; from whose hands the same error has been received by very many modern writers." Hence the affirmation of Dr. Milner, that ^k it is *universally* acknowledged that Cranmer was a thorough-paced Lutheran, or Zuinglian, when he travelled through Germany, and married Osiander's sister, [niece,] for his second wife, in 1529." And Gardiner and Smith ^l accused the Arch-

ⁱ Eccles. Biography, 1st edit. vol. 3. p. 550.

^k Strictures on Southey's Book of the Church, p. 32.

^l As before stated.

bishop of being first a Papist, then a Lutheran, and at last a Zuinglian, in what he maintained upon the doctrine of the sacrament. And thus too Dr. Martin assailed the primate with this taunt, “^m You, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar *three contrary doctrines*, and yet you pretended in every one *verbum Domini*.”—“Nay,” replied the Archbishop, “I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same:” that is, the two doctrines of the Church of Rome, and of the Reformed Church of England. Yet Sanders, who cared not what he wrote, as Strype observes, “ⁿ so he might but throw his dirt upon the Reformation and the Reformers,” has repeated without any proof the threefold charge against the Archbishop. Cranmer indeed appears to have ^o faltered at the doctrine of transubstantiation, after examining a learned preacher who denied it, in 1539; and again, upon a similar occasion, in 1541; though he professed the Romish tenet, till the conference

^m Fox, Acts and Mon.

ⁿ Strype, Life of Cranmer, B. 1. ch. 18.

^o Ibid.

with Ridley led him wholly to disclaim it, and gave rise to the treatise, of which in the preceding pages an account has been given. An original letter, from the Archbishop to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, is in the State Paper Office, (without the date of the year, but, by the date of the letter which it describes, evidently written immediately after the receipt of it in Sept. 1540,) in which the aversion of Cranmer to the Church of Rome is undisguised.

“ P Maister Wrythiosley,

“ After my right hartly recomendations, theis be to signifie vnto you that I have receyved out of the realme of Pole lettres from Dantiscus, busshope of Varmien. who was many yeres the kynge of Pole his ambassadour vnto the emperour the same tyme that I was the kynge our master his ambassadour; in whome I founde at that tyme grete humanitie and feithfulness; and, as I coude perceyve, an hart he had to serve the kyngs majestie our master, as if he had been his own subjecte; and as lovyngely he intreated me, as if he had been my own brother, *notwithsandyge*

P Directed, to my loving friend Sr Thomas Wrythisley, Secretary vnto the Kyng's Majestie.

that we were of two contrary jugements ; for he was a meer papiste. Nevertheles, he wold heare me diligently, and patiently, *to say al my mynde concernynge the busshope of Rome,* and seemed many times to condescend vnto my jugement, and to alowe the same. Howbeit, after he came home into his own contray, and had ij busshoprycks gyven vnto hym, *Jordanus conversus est retrorsum :* for he returned agayne holly *ad papismum.* And now they say, that he is the gretest persecutor of Godd's worde that is in all the lande of Pole ; and you may perceyve by his lettre, (which herewith you schal receyve,) how much he is offended with me, for that accordynge to Godd's worde I wrote myselve in the subscription of my lettre, *ecclesie Cantuarien. ministrum.* Now syns I receyved this lettre, I haue been moch inquieted therwith, consyderynge what haynous rumors by myschevous tongues be spred into so farr contrays of the kyng's majestie, which wolde make any true and lovyng subject's harte to blede in his body to heare or reade of his Prince. And bycause you sholde the better perceyve the same, I haue sent you Dantiscus' own letter, interlined in places most notable concernynge that matter ; desierynge you to declare the same to the kyng's highnes at conuenient oportunitie, and to knowe his pleasure whether I shall make any answeere vnto the said Dantiscus, and what answeere I schal make : for

the matter is of such importance, that I dare not presume to make a slender aunswer vpon myn own heade. Nevertheles, I thynke it not good to open this matter vnto the kyng's grace vntyl he be wel recouered of his disease, which I pray God shortely to put away, lest peradventure it might trouble and move his grace, and rather be occasion of longer contynuanee of the said disease. And if that had not been, I wolde haue come to the Courte this day my selfe, but I thought it veray evyl that any person or matter sholde at this present disquyete his grace. Wherefore I referr vnto your wisdom to breake this matter vnto his grace at such tyme as you schal thynke most expedient. ffrom Lamhith this saint Mathies day.

“ Your assured,

“ T. CANTUARIEN.”

The original letter of Dantiscus, sent with the preceding, is in the same repository, but is in a perishing state. It is dated “ ex arce nostra Heilsberg. prima Septembris 1540.” It is written with strong animadversion upon obvious occurrences in England in that year, and with the following propheticall application as it were to Cranmer: “ Tu tamen ne te *πυραστου μορος* occupet, quum ea sint apud

vos tempora, quæ nulla prius in orbis Christiani regione fuerunt unquam, caveas." The passage is underlined by Cranmer, and over the Greek words are written by him *salamandre fatum*. Part of another sentence, underlined also by the Archbishop, which is much decayed, is too curious to be omitted: "Tot scilicet bonorum Ecclesiæ di [reptiones, qu.]—quodque magis hic omnes in admirationem ac detestationem inducit, *tot conjugia, totque contra omnes cum humanas tum etiam divinas leges repudia*, quæ tamen, quamvis passim hic in vulgus sparsa pro veris habentur, apud me adhuc sunt ambigua." Here is an evident allusion to the ⁴frequency of divorces, which at that time prevailed. And presently there is an apparent reference to the marriage of the King; "de insigni ad te conjugio scripserim."

7. So much in the preceding section for a very curious correspondence, so near the time too when the King, instead of promoting the Reformation, had been retracing his

⁴ Strype, Life of Cranmer, B. 1. ch. 20.

steps; and when Gardiner had been active in framing, and successful in establishing, the merciless Act of the Six Articles. This Act Cranmer had opposed. Dr. Lingard thus relates the opposition: "On the second day the king himself came down to the house, and joined in the debate: to resist the royal theologian required a degree of courage unusual in the prelates of that day: and Cranmer and his colleagues, who had hitherto led the opposition, now, with the exception of the bishop of Salisbury, owned themselves vanquished and convinced by the superiority of his reasoning and learning. On the authority of Fox we are told that the Archbishop persisted in his opposition to the last; (Fox, ii. 372. Burnet, i. 258.) but this statement not only seems irreconcilable with the Journals, but is contradicted by the express assertion of one of the lords who were present. 'Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Salisbury, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with goodlie learning. York, Durham, Winchester, Lon-

don, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlisle, have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion; and my lord chancellor (Audley) and my lord privy seal (Cromwell) as good as we can devise. My lord of Canterbury and all his bishops have given their opinions, and have come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool.' Cleop. E. v. p. 128." Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 381.

The preceding extract is part of the letter copied from the manuscript by the accurate Strype, and printed in the Appendix to his Life of Cranmer, No. XXVI. though Dr. Lingard has not noticed it; where it is observable that the letter is "*without any name subscribed,*" which also Dr. Lingard has suppressed; so that instead of being *written by one of the lords present at the debate*, it may have been the exaggerated communication of any friend to the papal cause, in the way of news, as indeed it seems to be; for it begins, "And also *newes here*, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a

man, &c. as the King hath done in this parlyment;" (which in Dr. Lingard's extract is omitted;) and probably was gathered from *the report* of some lord who had been present. In relating a publick circumstance, whether orally or by letter, which succeeds according to our wish, nothing is more common than to identify ourselves with the promoters of it. " ' Great triumphing," says Strype, "was now on the papists' side as appears by this letter." He calls the news in this letter, however, " ' a flying report." The letter also, I have observed, is anonymous; and still it conceals the strenuous, the noble opposition made to it by Cranmer; still it affirms, what is not true, that the bishop of Salisbury alone persisted in refusing his assent, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury with the bishops who have been already named of his opinion "came in" to the opposing party, when the ' bishop of Worcester, as well as the bishop of Salis-

^r Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, B. 1. ch. 19.

^s *Ibid.*

^t Lord Herbert, p. 449. Burnet, i. p. 266. Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, B. 1. ch. 19. and Dr. Lingard himself; "Latimer,

bury, rather than conform, resigned his bishoprick; and still it coldly talks of the debate, in general terms, of having continued only *a long time*, when as Fox has stated the fact, and as Lord Herbert, and Burnet, and Strype, and even Collier, have repeated it, “*u Cranmer for three days together in the open assembly opposed these Articles boldly*; and when even the second edition of Sanders has admitted the “*longam difficilemque altercationem*” in parliament upon the subject, after the first edition (like the anonymous writer of the present letter) had conceded only “*diu multumque disputatum.*” But the Romanists have ever aimed, in reciting the circumstances of the Six Articles, to fix upon the memory of Cranmer the stain of a judgement slavishly prostituted to the will of the king. “*x There was no abject compliance,*” says Phillips, “to which he did not let him-

and Shaxton, the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, who by the intemperance of their language had given offence, resigned their sees. The French ambassador says, that both refused their assent.” Hist. vol. 6. p. 384.

u Lord Herbert, p. 448.

x Life of Cardinal Pole, vol. ii. p. 211.

self down, to flatter the passions of Henry VIII. and to secure his own credit, &c. In consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, *he subscribed to the six famous Articles*, which contain so many points in which the Reformers disagree with the ancient doctrine, though he disbelieved them all." Here the archbishop is introduced assenting in a manner, which has been invented by the slanderer: for *subscription to these Articles*

And yet Mr. Butler thus expostulates with Dr. Southey: "Although Cranmer *subscribed*, and caused his clergy to *subscribe*, the Six Articles, the third and fourth of which enjoined celibacy to the clergy, and the observance of the vow of chastity, was he not married, and did not he continue to cohabit with his wife? was not this dissimulation?" Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 216. Let Strype answer Mr. Butler: "The papist writers say, Cranmer opposed the Six Articles, because himself was a married man, and so it would touch him close: but it is plain that there were other of these Six Articles which he utterly disliked; and especially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the Act. But hereupon he privately sent away his wife into Germany among her friends." Life of Cranmer, b. i. ch. 19. Hear also the belief and assertion of Lord Herbert: "It appears not what arguments Cranmer used: only I find the king sent to him for a copy of them, and disliked not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere intention, though some thought he had a private interest as being a married man; though, fearing this law he sent away his wife for the present into Germany, &c." Hist. p. 448. As to *subscriptions* to the Act in question, they are

was never enjoined at all. And when after the second day's debate, (a second day is admitted by Dr. Lingard,) and the third day to which the question was adjourned had arrived; Cranmer ^a protested against the bill, though the king desired him to retire, since he could not consent to it. Dr. Lingard adds, that "two separate committees were appointed, with the same instructions to each to prepare a bill in conformity with the royal suggestion. One consisted, and it must appear *a most singular selection*, of three converts to the cause, the prelates of Canterbury, Ely, and St. David's; and the other, of their warmest opponents, the bishops of York, Durham, and Winchester." Hist. vol. 6. p. 382.

Has Dr. Lingard, then, never observed that, in committees of the lords and commons upon extraordinary questions, both enemies and friends of the point at issue are the gratuitous appendages to it of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Butler. The Clergy were enjoined by the Act to read it in their churches once a quarter, but they were never required to *subscribe* to it.

^a "The King desired the archbishop to go out of the House, since he could not give his consent to the Bill; but he humbly excused himself; for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it." Burnet, vol. i. p. 258.

found? And can Dr. Lingard call Cranmer a convert to a cause, *which he waited for opportunity only again to oppose?* Of these very six Articles the archbishop himself afterwards brought in a bill to mitigate the penalties. For what *the three converts*, as Dr. Lingard calls them, had proposed as a committee, was rejected. His most impartial biographer shall relate the subsequent proceeding. “^a *This was a bold attempt*, and drew on him the whole force of opposition. The bishops of Rochester and Hereford, who had promised to assist him, gave way as the debate grew warm; and begged him to follow their example. It was in vain, they told him, to persist: he could not benefit his cause; but he might ruin himself. The archbishop, with that spirit which he always exerted where religion was concerned ^b, declared himself careless of any consequences. His perseverance had an effect which he durst not have hoped for. The laity were entirely exempted from the penalties of the act; and the clergy were in no danger, till after the third conviction. The primate ob-

^a Gilpin, p. 81.

^d See Collier, vol. ii. p. 201.

tained also that no offences should be cognizable, after they had lain dormant a year. It is not improbable, that he was indebted for this victory to the ^c book, which he had sent to the king; the rigour of whose opinions it might, in some degree, have qualified."

8. To the charges which have been brought against the archbishop for his conduct in the condemnations of Joan Bocher or Bouchier, and George Van Parris, as hereticks, we next proceed with sorrow; as recalling circumstances in our history, and in the history of Cranmer, truly painful. For the burning of the former, usually called Joan of Kent, Cranmer is said to have contended with the young king, who argued against it: "the objection was solved by the example of Moses, who had condemned blasphemers to be stoned; and the king with tears put his signature to the warrant." Lingard, Hist. vol. 7. p. 101.

It has been usual to leave Cranmer in the present deplorable scene without any strong

^c Burnet, vol. i. p. 265. "Cranmer went about that which the king had commanded, and made a book of the reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles," &c.

effort of defence. Strype, who in his *Life* of the Archbishop retires as it were from the attempt, resolved afterwards, in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, not thus to "desert the primate in his utmost need." Sir John Hayward, in his *Life* and reign of Edward VI. had said, "^d that Cranmer was violent with the king by persuasions and entreaties to seal the warrant for Joan Bocher; and by his importunity prevailed with the king, who told the archbishop, he would lay the charge of it upon him before God:"—and then he adds his conjecture upon this, "that it might be Cranmer's importunity of blood, by which that woman was burnt, that he himself afterwards felt the smart of fire."—To these remarks Strype replies: "^e This passage whether it be true or no, I cannot tell. The king mentions nothing of it in his *Journal*, only that she was burnt for her obstinacy in her heresy. And the character is utterly disagreeing from Cranmer's spirit. For none was more tender of blood than he; none more pitiful and compassionate. Nor was he a

^d *Eccl. Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 473.

^e *Ibid.*

man for rigorous methods and violent courses. Indeed Fox mentions, that the Council put Cranmer upon moving the king to sign this warrant: which was a sign he had no great forwardness to it himself. And in obedience to them he did labour with the king about it, and obtained it. And though he did this, it neither argued *violence* nor *importunity for blood*. For as he was not present at her condemnation, as appears by the Council-Book, so he may be concluded to have had no desire of her death, though the warrant by his means was signed for her execution. His thoughts, I am apt to think, were, that this fear of death, which she saw so near, might serve to reclaim her from her error, when his and other learned men's reasonings with her, being both ignorant and obstinate, were ineffectual." Dr. Lingard notices the next victim, Van Parris, a ^f Dutchman, and a sur-

^f There were in several parts of England many Anabaptists, as this Dutchman is said to have been, who had left their homes in Holland, and in Germany, on account of their tenets. Of these tenets Burnet has given, in the case of Van Parris, some account, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 111. A very full account is to be found in the proceedings against Giles Vanbellar, another Dutchman who abjured them, in the MS. Register of Edward

geon in London, without any aggravation; unlike the historian whom he sometimes follows, who, in order to heap redoubled shame upon his memory, has introduced the archbishop as resorting to the king with the same importunity for the punishment of Van Parris, as he had for Joan Bocher, and as if they had both suffered together: when between their respective condemnations there was an interval of two years; “^s Whereas the young king,” Phillips says, “shewed a reluctance to sign *the warrant for the execution of these wretches*, one of whom was more a bedlamite than a heretick, Cranmer solved his scruples, and prevailed on him to put his hand to it.” Of such interference by Cranmer, at the time when Van Parris really suffered, there is no notice in the Journal of Edward; as of such interference also there is none in the case of Bocher. But Dr. Milner appeals to Burnet, as testifying the alleged cruelty of Cranmer alike to Bocher and Van Parris. And indeed Burnet has

(Lee) Archbishop of York, under the year 1534. Reg. Pre-rog. Off. York.

^s Life of Cardinal Pole, vol. ii. p. 209

misled this learned Romanist, and others, by the inaccuracy of his statement subjoined to instruments copied from the register of Cranmer in the Lambeth library. Burnet must have entrusted the labour of copying to some ^h unskilful hand. He himself would never have printed (as in the Records, No. 35. illustrating his second volume of the History of the Reformation, it is printed) "*Sermo factus regi, &c.*" when the real words in the Register are "*Certificatorium factum regi, &c.*" It is in fact the necessary certificate of the sentence passed upon Boucher, and again recited in the case of Van Parris, in obedience to the Act which had been passed at the beginning of this reign, that "the courts of Bishops and all their processes should be carried on in the King's name, as in the other courts of law." And therefore in these cases the words are, "*Vestræ Regiæ sublimitati, &c. dictam Hæreticam relinquimus, &c.*" and "*Vestræ Regiæ sub-*

^h Even the reference to the entries in the Register, and a date, here mentioned by Burnet, are not correct. The true date is April 7, 1551. The folia in the Register are 74, 75, and 78, 79.

limitati, et potentiæ brachii vestri secularis, dictum Hæreticum *relinquimus*, et tradimus, animadversione vestra regia puniendum, &c."

Now, because Burnet, speaking of the case of Van Parris, says that the process and sentence, "*together with a petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the secular power,*" are the same as in the case of Bocher: therefore the legal form, leaving the convict to the disposal of the king, in which there is no *imploration* except that of blessing upon the reign of Edward, has been converted into the stain of importunity for blood in the character of the principal judge. The word *petition* must have been adopted by Burnet, or by him who gave him the copy of the instruments, in the forensick meaning of the address to one having jurisdiction or authority; for the instruments exhibit *no entreaty whatever, no desire of assistance*, but simply state the process and the sentence, (as was requisite,) and *leave* the punishment to the power and direction of the king. Without this explanation, the enemy of Cranmer might still "have advantage against him;" with it, the charge deduced from Burnet, as by Dr. Milner, is refuted.

9. The intelligence brought to the Archbishop, upon the accession of Mary to the throne, that the Roman Catholick service had been performed in his church at Canterbury, has drawn from the pen of Dr. Lingard the following statement of the consequences. The intelligence added, "that by strangers this innovation was supposed to have been made by Cranmer's order, or with his consent; and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen. Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a publick denial; and in a declaration which, while its boldness does honour to his courage, betrays by its asperity the bitterness of his feelings, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies, who was even then persecuting Christ, his holy word, and his church; that it was not he, the Archbishop, but a false, flattering, lying, and deceitful monk, who had restored the ancient worship at Canterbury; that he had never offered to say mass before the queen, &c. Of this intemperate declaration several copies were dispersed, and pub-

lickly read to the people in the streets." Hist. ut supr. vol. 7. pp. 185, 186.

But the whole truth is not told. The declaration was certainly drawn with a view to publick use; and was submitted by Cranmer to Scory, who had been bishop of Chichester, for the advantage of his private and friendly consideration. Of this incomplete paper Scory indiscreetly gave copies; one of which was read in Cheapside; and many were subsequently dispersed; but without the knowledge or consent, on the contrary to the great mortification, of the Archbishop. For being summoned before the Council, and asked if he was the author of the declaration, he answered, that certainly he was; but that he was very sorry to find the paper had gone from him in such a manner, as he had resolved to enlarge it in many respects, and to affix it, with his hand and seal to it, to the doors of the churches in London. This reply before the Privy Council was made on the 8th of Sept. 1553, when, Burnet and others say, the Archbishop was, contrary to all expectation, dismissed. It was on that day, however, that the Council resolved to

commit the Archbishop to the Tower upon the charge of treason, “¹ aggravated by spreadinge aboute seditious bills movinge tumultes to the disquietnes of the presente state.” Not a single bill is Cranmer known to have dispersed. To the injudicious zeal of his friend the alleged mischief is to be attributed. At the close of the Latin version of the declaration, published in 1554, it is there said, “² *Lecta publicè Londini in vico mercatorum ab amico, qui clàm autographum surripuerat, 5. Sept. Anno. Dom. 1553.*” Valerandus Pollanus republished it, in 1554; though Burnet and Strype have overpassed the circumstance. The English copies were probably called in and destroyed. Of the reprint in 1557 by the English exiles, a copy yet exists among Fox’s collections in the Harleian manuscripts, (No. 417.) to whom it was sent by Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and in that part of the written narrative, which names it, there is a marginal direction by Grindal, “it is goode that

¹ Extracts from the Privy Council Book, Archæolog. vol. xviii. cited by Dr. Lingard.

² Burnet, ii. Records, p. 250.

the letter itself be lette in : the copie of it in prynte is annexed ;" which is a single duodecimo leaf. In it the religion of the former reign is nobly owned ; and a vindication both of the Reformation, and of Crammer himself, proposed. And what wonder, if in it there be also an " asperity which betrays the bitterness of his feelings?" The false, flattering, lying, and dissembling *monk*, who caused the mass to be set up at Canterbury without his advice or counsel, was Thornden, Prebendary of Canterbury and suffragan bishop of Dover, who had lived in his family, and with whom he used to converse most familiarly ; and was one of several *dissembling monks* whom Crammer had unfortunately selected, or permitted to be selected, from the dissolved priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, into his cathedral, and who were joined with Thornden in a wicked confederacy against him. If, upon witnessing this new act of baseness by the leading monk, Crammer had shown no asperity, I should have marvelled at the tameness which allowed the usurpation of his authority to pass unreprehended. The recollection, probably, of the ill choice which had

been made of ^a other worthless characters from the monks of Christ Church, might also renew the bitterness of his feelings. ° Many

^a Besides Thornden, who had been a monk of Christ Church, I am compelled to name Mills and Parkhurst, and Gardiner, who also had been of the same monastic body, and were transferred to prebends in the new foundation. Whether Willoughby and Sentleger, who were also of the first prebendaries, had been monks, I know not. These six were all concerned in the conspiracy against Cranmer. Indeed Strype has said that, "*for the most part, the prebendaries of Canterbury were at that time addicted to the pope and the old superstitions.*" Life of Cranmer, B. i. chapters 26 and 27; where the above conspirators and their proceedings are named, and their base ingratitude as well as their false accusations exposed; together with the confessions of their guilt; their supplications to the archbishop for pardon, and to the king for release from confinement; and the conduct of the Archbishop towards them, "*being a man that delighted not in revenge.*" The meanness of guilt is also very observable in their confessions and submissions. Strype's Cranm. Appendix, No. 33. It is apparently to this transaction of the late monks of Canterbury that an eloquent allusion is made, in a publication not many years after the event: "*Did ever those papists, whose lives were spared by good byshop Cranmer's meanes, who were brought up, who were defended, who were advanced, who were sheelded from harme and perill by him, once requite hym with one drop of kyndnesse? And yet they spake hym faire in hys prosperitie!*" A Warning against Papists, &c. sign. L. 3. b. The behaviour of Cranmer, upon the present occasion, "*who was gentle even to excess,*" is also recited by Burnet, iii. p. 110.

° Strype, Life of Cranm. B. 1. ch. 26.

of the members of the new foundation he had himself preferred, and to many of them was a kind friend. The expression is too strong to be mistaken; and however Dr. Lingard may deny the practice of other ^pimmoralities, ascribed to the monks of Christ Church, by several writers; of the sins of falsehood and ingratitude towards the benefactor whom they surrounded, he will allow some to be guilty.

10. But, amongst the many partialities of Dr. Lingard, none can be more revolting than his pretence, by way of contrast to the character of Cranmer, of an unpersecuting temper in Gardiner, and of a mild demeanour in Bonner; men, who have been hitherto regarded with national disgust, and of whom the mention in the pages of Dr. Lingard disclaims as it were the notice of them as persecutors, either in combination or apart. "With whom the persecution under Mary originated, is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner,

^p Hist. ut supr. vol. 6. p. 346.

more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice, than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document: it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct." Hist. ut supr. vol. 7. p. 259.

And whom has Dr. Lingard introduced to bear him out in the pretence of Gardiner's innocence? The Jesuit Persons, or Parsons, who was one of Cranmer's slanderers; an Englishman who dishonourably left his own country, and became a Romanist; and from the pope obtained leave to establish a seminary at Rome, in which English students might be educated to act as missionaries in their native country for the propagation of the Romish faith. But Dr. Lingard requires "*real information*," as to the innocence or guilt of Gardiner; which is a demand that cannot be too highly praised, and a demand that may be answered. Sir John Harington, whose literary character is well known, and who has repeatedly supplied other information with which Dr. Lingard has enriched his pages, has left an account in manuscript of the treatment which his father experi-

enced, while a prisoner in the Tower, from Gardiner, who pretended to be his friend; and of the opinion, expressed by him, as to *the general character* both of the prelate, and of the times. “¹ Gardiner and his fel-
lowes did condemne to the fyre a number of poore harmlesse soules that profest to beleue as they were taught three yeares before:— which great extremitye was part the cause of stirring vp of Wiat’s rysing, for which many Protestants were greatly troubled: among others my father was committed to the Tower; and there, among other things he wrote, he translated *Tullie de Amicitia*, but finding Gardiner as he thought his heaue freind and harkning to no reason, he wrote a ryme to him, (in which kynde if I were not a partiall praiser, I would say he was equall to the best of those tymes,) one stanza whereof I will here sett downe, that charges the bishop with ingratitude:

““ Your chaunce was once as myne is now,
To keep this hould against your will;
And then you sware you knew well how,
Though now you swarve I know how ill.

¹ Manuscript in the Library of York Cathedral, No. XVI.
L. 5.

Bat thus the world his course doth pass :
 The Priest forgets that Clerk he was :
 And you that then cryde Justice still,
 And now have justice at your will,
 Wrest justice wrong against all skill."

" This and much more to the like effect he wrote, but still lay in the Tower for his labor; which wrong, infecting his Muse with some rancor, he prosecuted *him* with his penne after his death that persecuted him by his power in his life, verefieng the old saieng, *Scribit in marmore læsus* : for this epitaph I found in a book of my father's of his owne writing :

" " Here lyē the bones of busy Gardiner dead,
 That in fve yeares spoild more good lawes and lore,
 Than two great kings, with all the wits they bred,
 Could stablish sure in forty yeares before :
 The Queen beguild, the Lords like lymehounds led,
 The usurping rule of Rome he did restore,
 Burne, head, and hang, imprison, vex, and spoile
 The worthie sort of this declyning soile."

" Thus generallie did all the Protestants complaine of the great crueltie in Queen Marie's tyme." pp. 231, 2, 3.

Sir John Harington has also left an account, which has been published in his Catalogue of bishops, both of Gardiner and of

Bonner; in which the former is certainly exhibited as an object of less dread and detestation than the latter. "† But," Sir John observes, "for his sharp persecuting or rather revenging himself on Cranmer and Ridley, his too great cruelty cannot be excused. And the plots he laid to entrap the lady Elizabeth; his terrible hard usage of all her followers; I cannot yet scarce think of with charity, nor write of with patience." Yet Sir John adds, that he had heard "some as partially praise his clemency," and others assert "that Bonner was more faulty than he; and that Gardiner would rate him for it, and call him ass for using poor men *so bloodily*." Others have attempted to clear him of being the author of the cruelties in the reign of Mary, by laying the blame of them upon Cardinal Pole. Of the subtilty of his character none appear to have doubted; and to his learning all have yielded their testimony. Fox proclaims not his pride, and envy, and cruelty, without mentioning also his sharp wit and his excellent memory.

† Brief View, or Catalogue, ut sup. under the Bishops of Winchester.

But the severest reflection upon him, among many which remain, is, that avarice and cruelty were the chief * ornaments of his character.

“ There appears to be reason to think,” Mr. Butler observes, “ that Mary’s bishops, in general did not promote the persecution. *Little blame seems imputable to † Cardinal*

* *Avaricia et crudelitas, ejus erant præcipua ornamenta.*”

Account of Gardiner, prefixed to D. Nicolai Ridleii, Episc. Lond. de Cœna Dominica Assertio, &c. Genev. 1556. Epist. p. 6.

† Very powerfully it has been remarked, that “ it ought not to create surprise that Pole should have found advocates, when such characters as Bonner and Gardiner have had their apologists. Of the former it has been said by a Catholic historian [him, who has prefixed the name of Dodd to his *Church History*,] that he acted according to the statutes ; which is a manifest untruth : for he began to persecute the Protestants with the utmost rigour before the revival of the repealed laws ; and even after their re-enactment he exceeded the powers which were vested in him, by taking the execution into his own hands, and inflicting cruel and illegal punishments. The same charge justly lies against the crafty Gardiner, of whom it is said upon the authority of the Jesuit Robert Parsons, that “ no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from cruelty and revenge ; and that he was known to be a most tender-hearted and mild man in that behalf ; insomuch that it was sometimes, and by some great personages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bare ; yea,

Pole, or bishop Tunstal; more is chargeable on Gardiner; the greatest part of the odium fell on Bonner. Dr. Lingard suggests some observations, *which render it very probable*, that neither Gardiner nor Bonner were *quite so guilty* as they have been represented." Book of the Roman Catholick Church, p. 207.—Of Gardiner I have spoken. The tyranny of Bonner, and his exultation over the victims of it, are the themes of several publications from 1541 till long after his death; exclusively of what Fox has at large related of him. Even

to him especially it was imputed, that none of the greatest and most known Protestants in queen Mary's reign were ever called to account, or put to trouble for religion." Parsons' Answer to Sir Francis Hastings, as quoted by Lingard, vol. vii. p. 259. "Upon this testimony of an apostate and traitor, who endeavoured all that in him lay to make his native country a province of Spain, we are required to believe, contrary to the evidence of Gardiner's contemporaries, that this intriguing and versatile churchman was a man of compassion, and adverse to persecution. Yet it is a known fact, and the historian who has quoted Parsons as a voucher for Gardiner's character, could not but know it, that with this ecclesiastick, and with him alone, originated the six bloody Articles, &c. and that the butchery of the two prelates, Ridley and Latimer, to say nothing of Cranmer, was the joint deed of Gardiner and Pole, &c." The Life of Latimer, prefixed to his Sermons, by John Watkins, LL.D. 1824, p. cxi.

Phillips, the biographer of Pole, conceding that “^u a number of unhappy persons” (that is, Protestants in the reign of Mary,) “^x suffered in the diocese of London, of which Bonner was bishop, *who is represented as the chief incendiary of that flame:*” even Phillips has offered no contradiction to this especial charge. But it is needless to cite further evidence. When Bonner is named, “who knows not of his story?” Who has not read, that from him Elizabeth, at her accession to the throne, “^y turned aside, as

^u Life of Cardinal Pole, vol. ii. p. 216.

^x I will here advert to Dr. Lingard's account of the Protestant martyrs in the reign of Mary: “After every allowance it will be found, that in the space of four years *almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion.*” Hist. ut supr. vol. vii. p. 285. An authentick account has been preserved, which Strype has printed, (Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. Orig. Papers, p. 291,) of the number of those who were burned, in the time of Mary, for religion; and of the places where they suffered. The gentle relation of only “*almost two hundred,*” which the pen of Dr. Lingard concedes, miserable to relate, is augmented in the “*four years,*” of which he speaks, to “*two hundred and eighty-eight, besides those that dyed of famine in sundry prisons:*” but with this number of those who perished at the stake, and with any mention of those who perished by famine, the pages of Dr. Lingard are not strained.

^y Hume, Hist. of Eng. and Burnet, vol. ii. 374.

from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity?" His successor, bishop Grindal, has left another exhibition of the "*real information*," which Dr. Lingard demands, in the last tribute which was paid to this miserable prelate. Bonner had been excommunicated: By the law, therefore, Grindal says, " * Christian sepulture might have been denyed him. But we thought nott goode to deale so rigorouslye, and therefore permitted him to be buried in St. George's church-yarde; and the same to be done nott in the daye solemnely, butt in the nighte privilye: which I, and some other with whome I conferred, thought requisite in that person for two causes. One was, I hearde that divers his popishe cousins and frendes in London assembled themselves, entendynge to honor his funeralle so moche as they coude: *of which honor such a persecutor was nott worthy*, and speciallye in these dayes. Another was, for that I feared that the people of the cittie, (*to whom Bonner in his life was odious*,) if they had seene flock-

* Ellis's Original Letters, ii. p. 258.

ynge of Papistes aboute his coffin, they would have been moved with indignation."

11. But in relating the persecution under Mary, Dr. Lingard observes, that " fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before the code of ecclesiastical laws, supplied by Cranmer, had obtained the sanction of the legislature : by the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other ; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for their opponents." Hist. vol. 7. p. 258.

We might, at the first reading of this melancholy passage, imagine that the persons who prepared and digested the body of laws, entitled *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, (which is the code in question,) had all perished in like manner with the primate ; and that to these merciless prelates, divines, and lawyers, in all thirty-two, was meted out the punishment which *they only had enacted*. In this company there were indeed four or five, who were associates in martyr-

dom with Cranmer. And as to the persecuting code, it is called by Strype "a very noble enterprise;" and by Burnet, "that noble design, so near being *perfected* in King Edward's days." It was not perfected; that is, perhaps some hesitation still existed among the framers of the code as to the penalties recited in it, which in the mind of the king, or of Cranmer, is very likely to have prevailed; but certainly it failed of being completed or ratified, in consequence of the death of the king. As to an establishment of it, which indeed had been intended in the former reign, it cannot be said that "the feet" of these associates of Cranmer "were swift to shed blood;" for the design, when it was revived in 1549 by act of parliament, directed indeed the examination of the old and a compilation of new ecclesiastical laws, but not absolutely the establishment of the altered code exactly at the end of the time prescribed for the important labour; which was the term of *three years*. And were Cranmer and his associates as active in exercising "the power of the sword" in the reign of Edward, as by others it was exercised in the reign of Mary? But

they ^a *intended* it, as Dr. Lingard evidently insinuates: and it may be sufficient in his estimation, perhaps, to condemn a Protestant for the supposed intention, and acquit the Romanist for the real act; or it may be his hope to persuade the reader, that persecution was equally busy on both sides; that even the associates of Cranmer led the way to the atrocities of Mary's agents; and that, in the present case, the accomplished scholars and divines of the reign of Edward, of whose names the nation is proud, are to be dragged before the publick, exclaiming as it were,

“ b we but teach
 “ Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
 “ To plague the inventor.”

But these learned men were not the *inventors* of such measures, nor the persecutors of hundreds of persons, or of tens. By their means severe laws of the former reign were repealed. From the school, in which they

^a Mr. Butler charitably says, that Cranmer and his associates wished Mary and her associates to be exposed to their projected persecutions. See the Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 204.

^b Shakspeare, Macbeth.

had been taught the lesson of persecution, they gathered indeed so much of the papal laws as pronounced the tyranny of putting men to death for their opinions; and to the civil magistrate assigned the power, which had long been exercised by the pope, of punishing those who maintained heretical opinions. It was by the decisions and practice of the Church of Rome for above six centuries, by the revived laws against heretics, that the agents of Mary directed their proceedings in regard to such persons. And hence originated "the ^c foulest blot on the character of the queen, her long and cruel persecution of the reformers;" the sacrifice of nearly three hundred persons at the stake, the death of others in prison and by famine, for not yielding their religious opinions; and most of them for denying transubstantiation.

12. This brings us at once to the last days and hour of Cranmer, who "perished in the flames which" the Church of Rome in earlier times "had kindled," and which in the reign of Mary raged with redoubled fury. With

^c Dr. Lingard's own confession, Hist. vol. 7. p. 300.

no concession to the ^d weakness of human nature, with no acknowledgment of the fallen prelate's self-conviction, Dr. Lingard thus introduces him. "He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life, he feigned himself a convert to the established creed; openly condemned his past delinquency; and, stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed." Hist. vol. 7. p. 274.

Not a syllable follows of the subtilty, with which the fortitude of the Archbishop had been assailed and subdued; nor of the manner by which the instruments of abjuration were procured, and in which they appeared. Dr. Lingard would not willingly, I am persuaded, augment the degradation of Cranmer: but to the six instruments of the Archbishop's abjuration, published by Bonner, he has for the first time in the page of history mistakenly added a *seventh*. It is necessary

^d "We may admire inflexible constancy; but it becomes very few of us to insult over such weakness." Dr. Sturges, Answ. to Dr. Milner, 2nd edit. p. 182.

here to copy at length what the indefatigable and accurate Strype has recorded.

“ * Other historians speak of the Archbishop's recantation, which he made upon the incessant solicitations and temptations of the popish zealots at Oxford. Which unworthy compliance he was at last prevailed with to submit to, partly by the flattery and terror suggested to him, and partly by the hardship of his own straight imprisonment. Our writers mention only one recantation; and *that* Fox hath set down; wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man's frailty. I shall therefore endeavour to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings to which he had subscribed one after another: for after the unhappy prelate by over persuasion wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favourably and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the state, and the danger of his conscience too; *that* would not serve, but *another* was required as explana-

* Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 232.

tory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve but drew on a *third*, fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so: but still a *fourth* and *fifth* paper of recantation were demanded of him to be more large and particular. Nay, and lastly a *sixth*, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgement of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, and a mischief-maker; nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived. And this was not all; but after they had thus humbled and mortified the miserable man with recantations, subscriptions, submissions, and abjurations, *putting words into his mouth which his heart abhorred*; by all this drudgery they would not permit him to redeem his unhappy life; but *prepared him a renunciatory oration to pronounce publickly in St. Mary's Church (Oxford,) immediately before he was led forth to burning*. But here he gave his enemies, insatiable in their reproaches of him,

a notable disappointment. They verily thought that when they had brought him thus far, he would still have said as they would have him. But herein their politicks failed them; and by this last stretch of the cord all was undone, which they with so much art and labour had effected before. For the reverend man began indeed his speech according to their appointment and pleasure; but in the process of it, at that very cue when he was to own the pope and his superstitions, and to revoke his own book and doctrine of the Sacrament, (which was to be brought in by this preface, that *one thing above all the rest troubled his conscience beyond all that ever he did in his life,*) he, on the contrary, to their great astonishment and vexation, made that preface serve to *his revocation and abhorrence of his former extorted subscriptions, and to his free owning and standing to his book wrote against Transubstantiation, and the avowing the evangelical doctrines he had before taught.*"

To the preceding passage Dr. Wordsworth has subjoined his own acute observation, that

“^f notwithstanding all the researches of the historians, it cannot, I think, be denied, that this part of Cranmer’s story is : involved in great obscurity and uncertainty. That, he made a submission and recantation, cannot be doubted : but I own, I know not how to reconcile *sic several submissions*, and the nature of them, their dates, &c. with other circumstances of the narrative. We are not told the precise period at which he was removed to the lodgings of the dean of Christ Church, and plied with the several ^s topicks, and arts of seduction, enumerated by Fox. But let it be observed, that the 14th of February was the day of his degra-

^f Eccl. Biography, vol. iii. p. 591.

^s Especially with the promise of his life being spared, and with suggestions that yet he might live many years, and yet enjoy dignity or ease, or both. This was no new artifice of the Romanists of that period, when a Protestant was to be recovered to their church. To the martyr, Dr. Rowland Taylor, it was accordingly urged, though in vain, as to producing any recantation, just as it had been successfully urged to Cranmer : “You are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and, without doubt, you should in time come to be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better,” &c. Fox, Acta and Mon.

dition, at which time, surely, the Archbishop's behaviour gave no warnings of his lamentable fall : and yet the *fourth* submission, as published by Bonner, (and it should seem that they are ranged *chronologically*,) is dated on the 16th of the same month, only two days after. There are other very suspicious circumstances accompanying Bonner's publication. But the above remark, I think, is alone sufficient to shew, that this part of the narrative requires further elucidation."

Indeed there are very ^h suspicious circumstances attending the publication of the six abjurations. Dr. Lingard says, "there is an entry in the Council-Book of March 13, ordering the printers, Rydall and Copland, to give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to be burned. (Burnet, vol. iii. p. 179.) Perhaps it was incorrectly printed : perhaps they waited for that which, he said, God would inspire him to make." Hist. vol. 7. p. 276. The date of the order, in this extract, is the eighth day preceding the martyrdom of Cranmer. But the order which

^h Camerarius, in his Life of Melancthon, seems to suspect the subscriptions. Vita P. Mel. 1655, p. 340.

I will copy, appears to have been dated three days later. I shall premise, what Burnet has fairly told, and Dr. Lingard unfairly concealed, "ⁱ *that the Privy Council were concerned, when they heard that Cranmer's paper of recantation was published.*" This is the entry in the Council Book: "^k A recognisance entred into by one Ryddall and Coplande prynters, that they will deliver forthwith to Mr. Cawood the queen's Majesties printer all such books as they of late printed concerning Cranmer's recantation to be by the said Cawoode burnt. dat. xvi March, 1555." The sneer and the conjectures of Dr. Lingard, in regard to this order, we have seen. Let us now observe what the learned Whiston, in defending the Archbishop, has said; that "^l if the Privy Council had been satisfied that this recantation was genuine, their procedure seems not a little absurd and incredible. It is much more likely that the

ⁱ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 179.

^k From the Orig. MS. by Bishop Kennet. Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 980, p. 189.

^l An Inquiry into the Evidence of Archbishop Cranmer's Recantation, &c. 1736, p. 16.

Council ordered it to be burnt *as a known forgery*, and as capable of raising a groundless compassion and indignation in the people, when they should believe Cranmer was become a thorough Roman Catholick, and yet was to be burnt as an obstinate Protestant heretick." However, after a few days, the recantations, certainly with some palpable fabrications in them, were entrusted to the press of Cawood, and appeared with the sanction both of royal and episcopal authority. Bonner, bishop of London, is said in the title-page to have *examined* it; and it was printed *cum privilegio*, that is, with Mary's express permission.

Now to the words in this authorized publication, *pretending* to be those of the Archbishop, is prefixed this direction, "^m *Here to*

^m From the publication of Bonner, entitled, "All the Submyssyons and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbyshop of Canterbury, *truely* set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the originalles, wrytten and subscribed with his owne hande. Visum et examinatum per reverendum patrem et dominum, Edmundum, Episcopum London. Anno MDLVI. Excusam Lond. in ædibus J. Cawodi, Typogr. Regiæ Majest. cum privilegio." Sign. B. i. b. This publication in its original form is very rarely to be met with; as though not called in by authority to be burnt, it is supposed

declare the Quenes just title to the crowne ;"
 at once betraying a part of what had been
"prepared for the martyr by others, not what

to have been by the Romanists, in after times, for obvious reasons, suppressed as much as possible. From an original copy I have made my extracts. Strype has printed the whole, interspersed with his remarks. Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 233, et seq.

ⁿ Dr. Lingard observes, that on the morning of his execution Cranmer transcribed and signed a paper ; and giving to Garcina, the Spanish friar, who was directed to attend him, "one copy of it, retained the other for his own use. But when the friar was gone, he *appears* to have made a second copy, in which, entirely omitting the fourth article, the assertion of the queen's right, he substituted, in lieu of the confession contained in the fifth, a disavowal of the six retractations which he had already made." Hist. vol. 7. p. 278. Dr. Lingard then must suppose, what is irreconcilable with all the circumstances, that though Cranmer gave the friar a copy of his paper in which the assertion of the queen's right was made, and which, as he observes, the Archbishop entirely omitted, Bonner would be so moderate as not to have printed it ! This egregious superintendant of the publication of Cranmer's recantations, having the effrontery to publish to the world the very contrary to what Cranmer professed as if it had been approved and pronounced by him, here forgot to fabricate the *fourth article*, or assertion of the queen's right ; and, relying on the deluded primate's complete submission, *prepared* for him only *the hint on which he was to speak* : "Here to declare the quenes just title to the crowne." Dr. Milner, strange to tell, refers to these recantations in Strype, as if taken from *the Lambeth Records* ! Strict. on Southey, p. 61. Not a syl-

he uttered himself. The words are as follow.
“ ° And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; and that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings contrary to the truth of God's Word, which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous and none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them; or else my conscience is not discharged. For they be the books which I wrote against the Sacrament of the Altar, since the death of King Henry the Eighth. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth. Wherefore renouncing all those books, and whatsoever is in them contained, I say and believe, that our Saviour Christ Jesus is really and substantially contained in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of bread and wine.”

Now the real words of Cranmer (those which are printed in the preceding extract, in Italic letters, not being his,) have been

lable on the subject is in the *Lambeth Records*; nor indeed has Strype named them.

° From the Submyssyons, &c. sign. B. i. b. B. ii. a.

^p preserved by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments: and agree minutely with the speech, taken at the time by a papist, who was an eye and ear witness to the last moments of the martyr.

From the honest, plain, and uncontradicted testimony, therefore, of the papist, an adversary of the Archbishop, the genuine speech here follows; such testimony convincing us, that when death approached, Cranmer had "the fortitude to look it in the face;" convincing us also of the baseness practised by those who, to the act of martyring him, scrupled not to join the fabrication we have just seen.

^p Fox thus abridges the narration: "the Archbishop revokes his former recantations, and repents the same; stands to his book; deceives the expectation of the Papists; and throws them into great rage." Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, says, that the Archbishop, after their last extortion of subscriptions from him, "still conceiving some jealousy that they might burn him, wrote secretly a paper, containing a sincere confession of his faith, such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him." The historian then gives the substance of this paper, precisely corresponding with what is found in Fox, and what is related by the Papist who attended the last moments of the martyr.

These, then, are the true words: “⁹ And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life; and that is, the setting abroad things contrary to the truth; which here I now renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ’s enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And here, being admonished of his recantation and dissembing, he said, Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and

⁹ This account of Cranmer’s end, related by a Papist to his friend in a letter from Oxford, which is of considerable length and very circumstantial, is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*, b. iii. ch. 21.

never dissembled till now against the truth ; which I am most sorry for. He added hereunto, that, for the Sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more. Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste. Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame ; and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning ; crying with a loud voice, “ *This hand hath offended.*”

r In his disputation with the Papists on Transubstantiation and the Mass, he had in like manner not been suffered to speak all he wished. “ Such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument, &c.” And Ridley, who was concerned with him in the same disputation, has recorded that he “ never saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly, or tumultuously,” than this disputation was by their papistical opponents, who compelled them, after every kind of outrage and insult, to leave off the reading their arguments and their proofs. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, has preserved at large these memorials of literary as well as religious cruelty.

“ His eyes were lifted up to heaven,” says Fox, “ and

Such was the end of Archbishop Cranmer, over whose weakness, as well as strength, the Romanists triumphed; but of whom it may be also said, in the history of his abjuration, that “‘out of weakness he was made strong, and waxed valiant;” regardless of the base denial of their promised pardon, and punishing as far as he could his own unworthy submission to the treacherous conditions of it.

Whoever attentively considers the character of Cranmer, will agree with “one of his biographers, that the light in which he appears to most advantage, is in that of a reformer, conducting the great work of a religious establishment. That work for near three centuries has “^x stood like a tower.” And is it now to be assailed, with the hope of shaking it, by the revived enginery of early and of midway opponents? Is it possible that the misrepresentations of former days, the distortions of ancient facts, supported by insinuating diction and ingenious arrangement, should lead us to believe that the la-

oftentimes he repeated his *unworthy right hand*, so long as his voice would suffer him.”

^t Heb. xi. 34.

^u Gilpin.

^x Milton, P. L.

hours of Cranmer were ill-directed, and that his great work is not worth defence? Forbid it, truth; forbid it, honour; forbid it, liberty. And to the ^y doubts or queries whether happiness, and wisdom, and improvement in morals, and the revival of letters, have been promoted by this great work, the Reformation, the sublime words of one of its noblest children might be a sufficient answer, if a passage of very animated eloquence upon the subject, from a production honoured by the University of Oxford, did not also present itself as worthy to be generally known and admired; with which I shall finish what I have collected, and what I urge, in behalf of Archbishop Cranmer, and of the Reformation in England.

And first, in the words of Milton: “^z When I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train

^y They are expressed by Mr. Butler in his *Book of the Roman Cath. Church*, p. 167, et seq. Need I refer Mr. Butler also for an answer to the fine observations of Blackstone upon the Reformation, at the close of his excellent *Commentaries on the laws of England*? The learned members of Mr. Butler's communion will hardly be obliged by his queries.

^z Of Reformation in England, B. 1.

of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church ; how *the bright and blissful Reformation*, by Divine Power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads, or hears ; and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it ; the schools opened ; divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues ; the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation ; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

Lastly, let us mark the observation made in our own times. " * The Reformation, that

* A Comparative Estimate of the English Literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries, by Richard Burdon of Oriel College ; a prize Essay, recited in the Theatre at Oxford, in the year 1814. p. 29, et seq.

great spring-time of English literature; the nativity, as it were, and very cradle of our national genius. For the children of the Reformation are, indeed, the great supporters and pedestals of our national fame. To the Reformation we are indebted for Hooker, and Hall, and Chillingworth, and even for the flower of our countrymen, Milton. Nor can it be doubted, but that those agitations and convulsions of the publick mind, which ever accompany any great change in publick opinion, especially on matters of such eternal importance, are highly favourable to the excitation of dormant genius, the evolution of latent powers. They say to the sluggard, arise; and to the secret one, come forth. They speak with a voice which not even the obstinacy of inveterate indolence can resist, which penetrated even to the dark cells of superstition. At the Reformation the mind first again recovered its liberty, and resulted back to its native independence of thinking. This was that universal and truly Catholick emancipation, that Egyptian deliverance, that enlargement and liberation of the soul, that manumission of the spirit, whereby it was

rescued from the subtleties of the schoolmen, the vanities of a fearful ignorance ; and having escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, it took its flight from earth, to bring down fire from heaven. But what was more than all this, the writers of that day had their imaginations warmed, and their conceptions elevated, by that constant conversation with the Scriptures, which the Reformation excited ; the Scriptures, those abundant repositories of all that is vast in thought, stupendous in imagery, and magnificent in language. To these fountains of sublime truth they made their daily pilgrimage, and their nightly visitations. Here it is that we must look for the reason, why there are passages in Hooker, which might have done honour to Shakspeare ; passages, such as we search for in vain either in poetry, or in prose."

APPENDIX.

(No. I.)

Archbishop CRANMER's Preface to his Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

(See before, p. 1.)

OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST JESUS, according to the will of his Eternal Father, when the time thereto was fully accomplished, taking our nature upon him, came into this world, from the high throne of his Father, to declare unto miserable sinners good news; to heal them that were sick; to make the blind to see; the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak; to set prisoners at liberty; to shew that the time of grace and mercy was come; to give light to them that were in darkness and in the shadow of death; and to preach and give pardon and full remission of sin to all his elected. And to perform the same, he made a sacrifice and oblation of his own body upon the cross, which was a full redemption, satisfaction, and propitiation, for the sins of the whole world. And to commend this his sacrifice unto all his faithful people, and to confirm their faith and hope of eternal salvation

in the same, he hath ordained a perpetual memory of his said sacrifice, daily to be used in the church to his perpetual laud and praise, and to our singular comfort and consolation ; that is to say, the celebration of his holy supper, wherein he doth not cease to give himself, with all his benefits, to all those that duly receive the same supper, according to his blessed ordinance. But the Romish Antichrist, to deface this great benefit of Christ, hath taught that his sacrifice upon the cross is not sufficient hereunto, without another sacrifice devised by him, and made by the priest, or else without indulgences, beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other pelfry, to supply Christ's imperfection. And that Christian people cannot apply to themselves the benefits of Christ's passion, but that the same is in the distribution of the bishop of Rome, or else that by Christ we have no full remission, but be delivered only from sin, and yet remaineth temporal pain in purgatory due for the same, to be remitted after this life by the Romish Antichrist and his ministers, who take upon them to do for us that thing, which Christ either would not or could not do. O heinous blasphemy and most detestable injury against Christ ; O wicked abomination in the temple of God ; O pride intolerable of Antichrist, and most manifest token of the son of perdition, extolling himself above God, and with Lucifer exalting his seat and power above the

throne of God ! For he that taketh upon him to supply that thing, which he pretendeth to be imperfect in Christ, must needs make himself above Christ, and so very Antichrist. For what is this else, but to be against Christ, and to bring him into contempt as one that either for lack of charity would not, or for lack of power he could not, with all his blood-shedding and death, clearly deliver his faithful, and give them full remission of their sins, but that the full perfection thereof must be had at the hands of Antichrist of Rome and his ministers ? What man of knowledge and zeal to God's honour can with dry eyes see this injury to Christ, and look upon the state of religion brought in by the Papists, perceiving the true sense of God's word subverted by false glosses of man's devising, the true Christian religion turned into certain hypocritical and superstitious sects, the people praying with their mouths and hearing with their ears they wist not what, and so ignorant in God's word, that they could not discern hypocrisy and superstition from true and sincere religion ? This was of late years the face of religion within this realm of England, and yet remaineth in divers realms. But (thanks be to Almighty God and to the king's majesty, with his father, a prince of most famous memory,) the superstitious sects of monks and friars, that were in this realm, be clean taken away ; the Scripture is restored unto the pro-

per and true understanding ; the people may daily read and hear God's heavenly word, and pray in their own language which they understand, so that their hearts and mouths may go together, and be none of those people of whom Christ complained, saying, " These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me^a." Thanks be to God, many corrupt weeds be plucked up, which were wont to rot the flock of Christ, and to ^blet the growing of the Lord's harvest.

But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like Popery, so long as the chief roots remain unpulled up? whereof, so long as they remain, will spring again all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flock. The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing, and the roots in the ground ; but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it,) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard,

^a Matt. xv.

^b Hinder.

they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions. These injuries to Christ be so intolerable, that no Christian heart can willingly bear them. Wherefore seeing that many have set to their hands, and whetted their tools, to pluck up the weeds, and to cut down the tree of error, I, not knowing otherwise how to excuse myself at the last day, have in this book set to my hand and axe with the rest to cut down this tree, and to pluck up the weeds and plants by the roots, which our heavenly Father never planted, but were grafted and sown in his vineyard by his adversary the devil, and Antichrist, his minister. The Lord grant, that this my travail and labour in his vineyard be not in vain, but that it may prosper and bring forth good fruits to his honour and glory. For when I see his vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth unto me, if I hold my peace, and put not to my hands and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I take to witness, (who seeth the hearts of all men thoroughly unto the bottom,) that I take this labour for none other consideration, but for the glory of his name and the discharge of my duty, and the zeal that I bear toward the flock of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that is to say, to set forth his word truly unto his people, to the uttermost of my power, without re-

spect of person, or regard of thing in the world, but of Him alone. I know what account I shall make to Him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the same good or ill, according as he hath done. I know how Antichrist hath obscured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of his word, overcasting the same with mists and clouds of error and ignorance, through false glosses and interpretations. It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry flock of Christ led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blindfold, they know not whither, and to be fed with poison in the stead of wholesome meats.

And moved by the duty, office, and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning in his name unto all that profess Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls, and to beware of that great harlot, that is to say, the pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her pleasant wine. Trust not her sweet promises, nor banquet with her; for instead of wine she will give you sour dregs, and for meat she will feed you with rank poison. But come to our Redeemer and Saviour Christ, who refresheth all that truly come unto him, be their anguish and heaviness never so great. Give credit unto him, in whose mouth was never found guile or untruth. By him you shall be

clearly delivered from all your diseases, of him you shall have full remission, *à pœna et à culpa*. He it is that feedeth continually, all that belong unto him, with his own flesh that hanged upon the cross ; and giveth them drink of the blood flowing out of his own side, and maketh to spring within them water that floweth unto everlasting life. Listen not to the false incantations, sweet whisperings, and crafty jugglings of the subtle Papists, wherewith they have this many years deluded and bewitched the world, but hearken to Christ, give ear unto his words ; which shall lead you the right way unto everlasting life, there with him to live ever as heirs of his kingdom. Amen.

(No. II.)

From bishop JEREMY TAYLOR's Dissuasive from Popery, chap. 2. sect. 12. See before, p. 24.

IF their [the Papists'] doctrines, as they are explicated by their practice and the commentaries of their greatest doctors, do make their disciples GUILTY OF IDOLATRY; there is not any thing greater to deter men from them, than that danger to their souls, which is imminent over them, upon that account.

Their worshipping of images we have already reprov'd upon the account of its novelty, and innovation, in Christian religion. But that it is against good life; a direct breach of the second commandment; an act of idolatry, as much as the heathens themselves were guilty of, in relation to the second commandment; is but too evident by the doctrines of their own leaders.

The same also is the case in THEIR WORSHIPPING THE CONSECRATED BREAD AND WINE. Of which how far they will be excused before God by their ignorant pretensions and suppositions, we know

not ; but they hope to save themselves harmless by saying, that THEY BELIEVE THE BREAD TO BE THEIR SAVIOUR, and that if they did not believe so, they would not do so. We believe that they say true ; but we are afraid that this will no more excuse them, than it will excuse those who worship the sun, and moon, and the queen of heaven, whom they would not worship, if they did not believe to have divinity in them. And it may be observed, that they are very fond of that persuasion, by which they are led into this worship. The error might be some excuse, if it were probable, or if there were much temptation to it ; but when they choose this persuasion, and have nothing for it but a tropical expression of Scripture, which rather than not believe in the natural, useless, and impossible sense, they will defy all their own reason, and four of the five operations of their soul, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling ; and contradict the plain doctrine of the ancient Church, before they can consent to believe this error, THAT BREAD IS CHANGED INTO GOD, AND THE PRIEST CAN MAKE HIS MAKER ;—we have too much cause to fear, that the error is too gross to admit an excuse. And it is hard to suppose it invincible and involuntary, because it is so hard, and so untempting, and so unnatural, to admit the error. We do desire that God may find an excuse for it, and that they would not. But this we are most sure of, that

they might, if they pleased, find many excuses, or rather just causes, for not giving divine honour to the consecrated elements; because there are so many contingencies in the whole conduct of this affair, and we are so uncertain of the priest's intention, and we can never be made certain, that there is not in the whole order of causes any invalidity in the consecration; and it is so impossible that any man should be sure that *here*, and *now*, and *this* bread is transubstantiated, and is really the natural body of Christ; that it were fit to omit the giving God's due to that which they do not know to be any thing but a piece of bread; and it cannot consist with holiness, and our duty to God, *certainly* to give divine worship to that thing, which, though their doctrine were true, *they cannot know certainly* to have a divine being.

* We hope it may be sufficient to say, THAT WHAT THE CHURCH OF ROME TEACHES OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION, IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE, AND IMPLIES CONTRADICTIONS VERY MANY, TO THE BELIEF OF WHICH NO FAITH CAN OBLIGE US, AND NO REASON CAN ENDURE. For Christ's body being in heaven, glorious, spiritual, and impassible, cannot be broken. And since, by the Roman doctrine, nothing is broken but that which cannot be broken, that is, the colour, the taste, and other accidents of the elements; yet if they could be

* From the Dissuasive, ch. i. sect. 5.

broken, since the accidents of bread and wine are not the substance of Christ's body and blood, it is certain that on the altar Christ's body naturally, and properly, cannot be broken. And since they say that every consecrated wafer is Christ's whole body, and yet this wafer is not that wafer; therefore either this, or that, is not Christ's body; or else Christ hath two bodies, for there are two wafers. But when Christ instituted the sacrament, and said, *This is my body which is broken*; because at that time Christ's body was not broken naturally and properly, the very words of institution do force us to understand the sacrament in a sense *not natural*, but *spiritual*, that is, *truly sacramental*. And all this is besides the plain demonstrations of sense, which tells us it is bread and it is wine naturally as much after as before consecration. And after all, the natural sense is such as our Blessed Saviour reproved in the men of Capernaum, and called them to a spiritual understanding; the natural sense being not only unreasonable and impossible, but also to no purpose of the spirit, or any ways perfective of the soul; as hath been clearly demonstrated by many learned men against the fond hypothesis of the Church of Rome in this article.

(No. III.)

Concerning the pretended fear of bishop TUNSTAL, according to Dr. Lingard. See before, p. 63.

CUTHBERT Tunstal, or Tonsal, bishop of Durham, was a prelate of high character, and consequently greatly respected. Sanders, like Dr. Lingard, has coupled him with Gardiner in acting upon another occasion, in obedience to the king's commands, *through fear*. See Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol i. p. Append. p. 290. Gardiner, Burnet observes, was a man like enough to write any thing that might please the king ; but Tonsal was a man of greater probity, than to have done so unworthy a thing, as to write against his conscience, upon any account whatsoever. Such a man Dr. Lingard might think it convenient to identify in any matter of importance with Gardiner. But his own letter remains, disclaiming the associated terror. See Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. Append. p. 138.

"I have received," the prelate writes, "the king's most honourable letters, sent unto me by Sir Francis Bygot, Knt., containing the king's

highnes' commandment for setting forth his title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and the abolishment of the authority of the bishop of Rome. I not only myself, *before the receit of the same letters*, had don my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused others to do the same. And so his Grace was prayed for ever since the proclamation of the Act thereupon made. And eftsones upon the receit of the king's said letter, I repaired to Duresm, and there preached my self again in great presence, as wel in setting forth the king's title, as in declaring the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, heretofore used in this realm. And so have done, and shall from time to time accomplish the king's commandment in my diocess, God willing.

"There were words in the said letter that sore grieved me; that the king's highnes should repute, that I should look for a new world; or mutation. If the king's highnes knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am, those words had not been put in. *For I have been as sore, against such usurpations of the bishop of Rome as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme.* And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, *which I withstood heretofore as far as I might when he flourished most*, it is not likely. Surely I look for no mutation, nor new world, but one; which

is the changing of this life transitory to the life eternal in the world to come, &c."—Is this the language of a man *influenced by fear*? And why will an historian deliver an *opinion*, which research can so easily confute?

THE END.

